



Daily Report

East Europe

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Yugoslavia

Federal—TANJUG reports that Prime Minister Milan Panic told AP that "expulsion from the United Nations would seriously jeopardize his struggle for peace." "It would not be helpful to my government to be suspended from the United Nations." Panic added: "The United Nations would be punishing my new government for the policies of the old government. That is not fair."

In a statement released to TANJUG, President Dobrica Cosic, commenting on the reactions to Panic's proposal that the FRY should apply for UN membership, said "the graveness of our international position is causing, and will continue to cause for a long time, political misunderstandings and conflicts among political and state factors of our society." Cosic noted: "I am convinced that the democratic development of our society will continue to produce political crises. Crises are not just times when misfortunes are endured, but also times of creation and progress."

Croatia

TANJUG reports that the Croatian and the Republic of Serb Krajina forces "withdrew five kilometers" inside their respective territories from the "line of conflict" along Dalmatia. The UNPROFOR "took up positions along the demarcation line." "According to a report by the joint commission for establishing and monitoring a ceasefire, UNPROFOR troops have set up permanent check-points and tightened control along the frontline."

Albania

Azem Hajdari, a former member of President Sali Berisha's Democratic Party, stated: "The Albanian secret police has been gathering false evidence to accuse opponents of President Sali Berisha of serving in the former Communist secret police." Hajdari said the secret police "were pressuring former prisoners in order to obtain false statements against him and other politicians who oppose Berisha," AFP reports.

Poland

Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz stated that an agreement between Poland and Latvia on military cooperation had been signed in Riga, PAP reports. Onyszkiewicz "noted that the agreement formed a general framework for mutual cooperation, but that it would be supplemented with concrete proposals for joint undertakings." As possible areas of assistance, "he highlighted training in Poland for Latvian officers, and the supply of communications equipment for the Baltic Republic's border guards."

Secret Police Said To Seek False Statements*AU1709192692 Paris AFP in English 1814 GMT
17 Sep 92*

[Text] Tirana, Sept 17 (AFP)—The Albanian secret police has been gathering "false evidence" to accuse opponents of President Sali Berisha of serving in the former Communist secret police, a former member of Berisha's Democratic Party said Thursday [17 September].

Azem Hajdari said ShIK, the secret police, were pressuring former prisoners in order to obtain false statements against him and other politicians who oppose Berisha.

In a letter published Wednesday in the daily ZERI I RINISE, former ShIK officer Luan Bobrati said Bashkim Gazidede, the current ShIK chief, had forced him to sign a statement saying that Hajdari and Gramoz Pashko—a co-founder of the Democratic Party with Berisha—cooperated with the secret police.

Questioned by AFP, Gazidede called the accusations "pure slander."

Socialist (formerly communist) MPs stormed out of parliament Wednesday in protest at being barred from raising the issue.

This is the second controversy surrounding the secret services to come to light since the fall of the communist regime in April and the arrival of the opposition in power.

In June, secret microphones were uncovered in the Foreign Ministry building. Well-informed sources in Tirana, who insisted on anonymity, said listening devices were also discovered last July in the offices of the prime minister and an unidentified minister.

Serreqi: Nation 'Departing' From Isolation*AU1709193692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1330 GMT 17 Sep 92*

[Text] Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi will depart for New York tomorrow. He will participate in the 47th session of the UN General Assembly. In an interview with ATA prior to his departure for New York, Foreign Minister Serreqi declared that this year the session convenes in an atmosphere of important world political changes that will undoubtedly be reflected in the general debate.

The Albanian delegation, headed by Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi, will try in the general debate and the work of the commissions to present those unique and main characteristics of Albania's foreign policy which, after the establishment of the democratic system in Albania, completely appears in a more active and specific level of action in increasing cooperation in international relations.

As a Balkan and simultaneously European country, Albania's foreign policy will maintain the stand for a united Europe; increase the spirit of peace, cooperation, and understanding; rigorously apply human rights; and freely develop a market economy. As a UN member, Albania is in favor of peacefully solving all the regional or specific problems that exist in the world today and developing good, useful, and equal relations with all those countries that respect and apply international principles and decisions.

As a Balkan country, Albania will continue its maximal efforts so that the region will not be a focus of conflict and disagreement and that the Balkan peoples will be fully liberated from the complexes of the past, which have brought so many calamities to this region. The Albanian delegation is undoubtedly concerned about the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the danger of its spread to Kosovo. Mr. Serreqi pointed out that our delegation will present its own view, which has now become known in international forums and other meetings, that the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina should immediately come to an end, and that Serbia should be held responsible and found guilty for the war there. The armed conflict in former Yugoslavia cannot have a permanent solution without finding an adequate and quick solution to Kosovo's problem on the basis of the free will of the Albanians. Serbia's intransigence and stubbornness should come to an end, and Serbia should obey international decisions in respecting not only the possible cease-fire, but also applying international commitments so as not to spread conflict in other areas.

During its stay in New York, the Albanian delegation members will have the opportunity to develop contacts through various meetings with delegations of other countries. However, as they will be in the United States, they will take advantage of the opportunity to talk with U.S. officials to the benefit of further developing the friendly relations between our two countries.

In any case, the delegation of the Republic of Albania is fully prepared during this year's session of the UN General Assembly to strengthen the image that Albania is completely departing from the old-age national isolation and that it is open and sincere in its foreign policy. Serreqi concluded his interview.

EC To Monitor Border With Yugoslavia

AU1709194092 Sofia BTA in English 1520 GMT
17 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—At its meeting today the Council of Ministers approved a memorandum on the signing of an agreement on the deployment of an EC monitoring mission on the border between Bulgaria and former Yugoslavia.

The idea about the deployment of foreign observers has been advanced by the Bulgarian side on many occasions.

Sokolov: Coup Rumors Aimed To Discredit Police

AU1709193592 Sofia BTA in English 1044 GMT
17 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—The coup rumours are intended to discredit the police, says Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov in an interview for OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK. The interview came in response to a feature in the opposition DUMA two days ago which quoted Mr. Zakhari Zakhariyev MP [member of parliament] of the Socialist Party [BSP] as saying that the rumours about a military coup in Bulgaria, which appeared some ten days ago, were fabricated by the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) itself. Mr. Zakhariyev alleged that the idea was to intimidate President Zhelev, sound out the reaction of the public, the Army, and the police and possibly shift the blame to the BSP. Mr. Zakhariyev said Justice Minister Svetoslav Luchnikov, Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov, and Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev spread the rumour with the consent of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and the cooperation of Defence Minister Aleksandur Staliyski. Mr. Sokolov describes these allegations as "the latest slander against the executive branch." "It is a sheer absurdity for a ruling government to produce rumours of a coup which can do nothing but destabilize the situation," Mr. Sokolov emphasizes.

In his view, the press has mounted an all-out attack on the security forces. All possible methods are used to discredit the ruling coalition: allegations of forming a political police to surveil political leaders and monitor their telephone communications and correspondence; allegations of human rights abuses in the cases of police seizures of illegally possessed arms, the illicit arms deals scandal; and, finally, the rumours about a military coup.

The minister emphasizes that the allegations of surveillance of political leaders are absolutely untrue. He thus denies the wire-tapping allegations of the leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms Ahmed Dogan, who was joined by the leader of the Socialist (ex-Communist) Party Zhan Videnov. "To claim that a political police has been formed is simply irresponsible," Mr. Sokolov says and expresses readiness to check the allegations with the participation of the "victims." The Ministry of the Interior issued an official statement to this effect yesterday.

"All these attacks are mounted right now that the law enforcement authorities have started to occupy the position that belongs to them in a democratic state committed to the rule of law and to guard order and security. These attempts are intended to manipulate public opinion and destabilize the executive branch," Mr. Yordan Sokolov believes.

No-Confidence Vote Against Savov Proposed

AU1709193092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] A group of National Assembly members have submitted a written proposal to vote no-confidence on National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov. According to Mr. Savov's advisers, who have seen the document, it has been signed by 23 deputies of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], and 56 deputies of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The demand to hold a no-confidence vote could be debated as soon as 18 September at the National Assembly session. We already have comment on the proposal.

According to Nora Ananieva, leader of the BSP parliamentary faction, Stefan Savov is a political figure and is not able to stop the confrontation at the National Assembly. The Socialists have not yet decided whose candidacy they will support if Mr. Savov indeed receives a vote of no-confidence, but in any event, they will propose their own candidate. According to Mrs. Ananieva, the DPS initiative did not surprise the BSP.

For the time being, the DPS representatives are refraining from commenting, regardless of the fact that this political force initiated the no-confidence vote against the National Assembly chairman.

There are no serious accusations against the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] that could result in a demand for the resignation of the National Assembly chairman, Miss Virginiya Velcheva said regarding the demand of several National Assembly members that Mr. Stefan Savov resign. She described this demand of the BSP as an expression of a bad political course and reminded the third political force [the BSP] that it was the SDS that several months ago supported the decision of the Constitutional Court on the legitimacy of the BSP's political existence.

Georgi Markov from the SDS said, quote, they all are traitors, primarily President Zhelyu Zhelev, end quote. He repeated this accusation on a Bulgarian television program without further explaining what political figures or forces he had in mind.

A meeting of the SDS parliamentary faction is taking place. Immediately after the beginning of the meeting, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, his deputy Ilko Eskenazi, and Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov arrived at the National Assembly building.

Mr. Stefan Savov did not answer the question of whether he was surprised by the demand for his resignation, while Georgi Markov said to the BTA reporters, quote, go to the Communists, end quote.

This is all the information we have so far.

Reasons for No-Confidence Vote

AU1709200092 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] On behalf of the parliamentary faction of the movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] a demand for the resignation of National Assembly Chairman Mr. Stefan Savov has been submitted to the National Assembly. The demand has been signed by 80 National Assembly members, including members of the parliamentary factions of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

In the demand it is pointed out that in accordance with the Constitution, the chairman of the National Assembly must be impartial toward the National Assembly members and personify the parliamentary spirit in a democratic society. The National Assembly members who signed the demand think that the National Assembly chairman does not have an impartial attitude and tolerance toward all National Assembly members. As chairman of the Democratic Party, Mr. Savov gives priority to those bills that facilitate the implementation of his party's policy, Yunal Lyutfi, DPS spokesman, said.

The spirit of confrontation, created under Mr. Savov's patronage, causes the waste of valuable parliamentary time, the DPS spokesman said.

It is expected that tomorrow the National Assembly will debate the proposal.

SDS Faction Discusses Position

AU1809072292 Sofia BTA in English 2047 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—The parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) held a meeting this evening to discuss the motion for the resignation of National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov, made by MP's [members of parliament] of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) and the Bulgarian Socialist Party. The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, Deputy Prime Minister Ilko Eskenazi and Minister of the Interior Yordan Sokolov. The MP's of the SDS mapped out a line of action for tomorrow's debates in parliament.

The motion for Savov's resignation will also be discussed at the ruling coalition's conference starting tomorrow, SDS floor leader Aleksandur Yordanov said at the meeting. This is above all a moral question for the SDS and Mr. Yordanov believes there are ulterior motives behind the DPS's motion. Some people probably aim at the formation of a caretaker cabinet consisting of people

chosen by the former Secret Services, Yordanov said. Today's decision of the National Security Committee on the declassification of politicians' police files in near future may be another cause for this attempt to provoke confrontation in parliament.

The SDS floor leader strongly hopes this "gross political mistake" of the DPS leadership will not cause ethnic tensions in certain regions because many SDS affiliates may reassess their policy towards the DPS. He also hopes this crisis will not have the typical Balkan consequences. In conclusion Aleksandur Yordanov said that Bulgarians should not take too literally the statement made by Georgi Markov MP of the SDS this evening—that the president and the DPS have betrayed the SDS.

Minister of the Interior Yordan Sokolov explained that he attended the meeting of the parliamentary SDS because of an expected demand for the government's resignation and not because of an expected coup.

After the extraordinary meeting, Prime Minister Dimitrov said he had not been surprised by the motion and accepted it with dignity. National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov made a statement to this effect for BTA.

Situation in SDS on Eve of Conference Viewed

AU1709165492 Sofia BTA in English 1554 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Iva Toncheva commentary: "Will Ruling Coalition Change Course?"]

[Text] Sofia, September 17 (BTA)—The government strategy of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) has drawn increasing criticism lately. That is why many people are interested in the SDS conference starting tomorrow. Judging by preliminary statements of coalition leaders, a radical change in the policy of the SDS and the first non-communist cabinet (after 45 years of communist rule) can hardly be expected.

The coalition's political strategy will be high on the agenda on September 18 and 19. The SDS leader, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, told the press he did not expect any changes. Similar statements have been made by other SDS leaders, too. "Do not expect a new turn in the SDS strategy," Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev MP of the SDS said on Tuesday [15 September].

SDS members themselves are focusing more attention on other issues, such as the structure of the coalition, the role of the National Coordinating Council as a central political body, and the coalition's relations with the media.

The delegates are expected to sign a final political document. It will probably contain ideas about the updating of the status of the SDS (which is a coalition of 21 parties) and about its internal political agreement.

The conference is taking place at a time when the SDS has come in for a great deal of criticism. In a televised

interview in late August President Zhelyu Zhelev, the coalition's first leader after its establishment in December 1989, expressed strong disapproval of its policy. The influential Podkrepa Labour Confederation has always been critical of the SDS. The other major trade union amalgamation, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, yesterday declared it suspends dialogue with the government. Podkrepa also withdrew its support for the cabinet. In an open letter to SDS supporters, Podkrepa leader Dr. Konstantin Trenchev called for the election of new political leaders. The SDS-affiliated Alternative Social Liberal Party and ex-Defence Minister Dimitur Ludzhev MP of the SDS have also criticized the cabinet. On several occasions this month the leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms Ahmed Dogan stated the need for a cabinet "overhaul" or even for a new cabinet.

"The government can be criticized for not being very efficient and for a lack of firmness and determination in carrying out the reforms, but it is implementing the SDS programme," SDS floor leader Aleksandur Yordanov writes in today's DEMOKRATSIYA, the SDS daily. The SDS policy may be further developed but not changed, according to Mr. Yordanov. In his view, a change may mean a new election. One of the arguments of the coalition's opponents is that individual persons should not identify themselves with the coalition as a whole.

Observers predict there will be many personal disputes at the conference. The arguments, however, will hardly remain at personal level. Podkrepa's leader Trenchev calls in his open letter for a political formation of a new type. Although Podkrepa will not attend the conference, there are many people in the SDS and especially in the Alternative Social Liberal Party, who hold similar views.

The Movement for Rights and Freedoms, which has a key role in parliament and has until now been loyal to the SDS, has made guarded comments on the conference. It has been said that the DPS will not be represented by its highest-ranking leaders. President Zhelev announced he would not attend the forum unless "the media—the press, radio and television—make it accessible to the general public." SDS leader Filip Dimitrov countered this by saying no one could dictate terms to the SDS supreme body, the Coordinating Council.

Zhelev Makes Statement on Openness at Conference

*AU1709170092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 17 Sep 92*

[Statement by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev on the upcoming National Conference of the Union of Democratic Forces; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Compatriots, my demand on openness [publicly] during the upcoming conference of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has been accepted. It was promised that reporters will be able to attend the conference and listen to the debates.

The insistent demand on the part of some parties and organizations within the SDS and on the part of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] and other political forces and trade union organizations that I should attend the conference by all means and speak about Bulgaria's topical political problems had an even greater importance in ensuring my participation in the conference.

Finally, the attempt of certain leaders within the SDS to present my demand on openness as a pretext to refrain from participating in the conference also had a great role in my decision to participate. I repeat: We are not Communists or conspirators, and we will not conduct policy behind closed doors. I want openness not for myself or for the SDS, but for the Bulgarian people who have the right to know everything about those who govern and who decide their fate.

Zhelev Walks Out of SDS National Conference

*AU1809144692 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 18 Sep 92*

[Text] [Announcer] This is the Khorizont Program at 1700 hours, time for the news from our announcer Chavdar Stefanov. First of all, here is an extended report on the news that President Zhelev has walked out of the National Political Conference of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

[Stefanov] In fact, we should first speak with our reporter [name indistinct] Ivanova, whom I have on the telephone now.

[Ivanova] You know the news already. About half an hour ago President Zhelyu Zhelev indeed walked out of the conference hall without making any statement or even uttering a word to us reporters.

[Stefanov] According to BTA, he refused to make any comment on his decision.

[Ivanova] Yes, this is so. It was necessary to seek an explanation from the representatives of the political parties who have already made their speeches in the conference hall and have come out to brief the reporters in the lobby. In fact, this is how we are working here, going from one political leader to another. In her statement, Mrs. Snezhana Nikolova of the Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights gave a one-minute assessment of the president's work. She accused him of not observing certain articles of the Constitution, of leaning toward unwholesome forces, and of socialist deviation. Upon hearing this, the president said: In this situation I cannot stay any longer in the hall, and I am walking out of the conference.

[Stefanov] Excuse me for interrupting, but please allow me to quote from the BTA report. According to BTA, in front of the participants in the conference that was closed to reporters, the representative of the Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights accused

the president by saying that following the first direct presidential elections he had started to cooperate with the leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. This statement was greeted with stormy applause from those taking part in the meeting. Please go on now.

[Ivanova] That is all the information I have. I would just like to add that I gathered this information from Lyubomir Sobadzhiev of the Civic Initiative Movement.

[Stefanov] Thank you. It is not our principle to hold back information. I have a further view that has just been transmitted by BTA. According to Georgi Petrov, leader of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union in the SDS, President Zhelyu Zhelev left the political conference of the ruling coalition because he did not want to be criticized.

Dimitrov Comments on Walkout

*AU1809155492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 18 Sep 92*

[Excerpts] This afternoon the national political conference of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] opened in Sofia. Our reporter Elena Shtereva has just returned from the conference. What do you have to tell us, colleague Shtereva?

[Shtereva] As you know, the conference is closed to reporters, so I can only ask people how the conference is proceeding and what speeches are being made. Mr. Filip Dimitrov was the first to speak to me. In his introductory speech earlier, he dealt with the issue of the differences and contradictions in the SDS coalition, and what they might lead to at the present political juncture for Bulgaria.

[Begin recording] [Dimitrov] I consider that, generally speaking, all those who have spoken until now mainly supported the viewpoint that I elaborated. I would say that the conference is far from discouraging; one even heard some pleasant things, such as the position of the ASP [Alternative Social Liberal Party], for example, which in fact distanced itself from the idea proposed by certain people regarding a change in the SDS policy. Then again, any conference of this kind always has hot

moments, and tasteless [poshli] remarks are made. One such statement resulted in the president walking out of the hall.

[Shtereva] What exactly was the substance of the statement?

[Dimitrov] I do not think it is necessary to go into details. In my view, the speech contained sharp comments that could have affected the president, but I am not sure whether they should have formed grounds for him to stage a walkout. It is, all the same, an important meeting. [end recording]

[Shtereva] Mrs. Virzhiniya Velcheva also gave me her assessment of the conference session.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Shtereva] How did the conference take Dr. Zhelev's walkout?

[Velcheva] I think that Dr. Zhelev should have expected such a reaction, because the contradictions that have accumulated are indeed many. I would add that until this moment Dr. Zhelev has not held a single meeting with the SDS, either as a parliamentary group or as a coalition, or with any individual leaders of SDS member parties with a view to elucidate his position. It is quite normal for certain critical remarks to have been made, but these remarks were along the lines that it is not proper for communication to take place by means of declarations. I personally think that the president was seeking a reason to leave this gathering because he had to provide answers to certain specific issues, even accusations, either to dispel them or to confirm that they were well-founded. [end recording]

[Shtereva] The conference is continuing with statements by leaders and authorized representatives of the parties to present the stand of each party regarding the SDS strategy.

I should tell our listeners that at the start of its closed session the conference adopted a resolution for a television recording to be made of the session, but it was stipulated that the recording should remain under SDS control.

[Stefanov] Thank you, colleague Shtereva.

Meciar: Army 'Cannot' Be Divided Within 3 Years

*AU1709134392 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 17 Sep 92 pp 1,2*

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Alena Melicharkova in Bratislava on 16 September: "Much Too Sensitive Issues"]

[Text] Several weeks have passed since the Civic Democratic Party-Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [ODS-HZDS] talks in Brno and certain questions, especially in connection with the Army, are being asked more and more often in Czechoslovak society. ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus has rejected the idea of forming a joint army after 1 January 1993 and has accused the Army lobby of trying to preserve (or conserve) a joint command for several years to come. We interviewed Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar about this view.

[Melicharkova] Following the ODS-HZDS talks in Brno, you and Prime Minister Klaus announced that you will ratify the agreement resulting from the talks through your secretariats. When will it be published?

[Meciar] The communique issued after the talks forms the basis for the agreement. We ratified it the next day. In essence, it was published before being signed.

[Melicharkova] This means the agreement contains nothing more than was made public by you at the final news conference?

[Meciar] It contains nothing more.

[Melicharkova] When will the next round of talks be held?

[Meciar] First of all, we have to have a clear concept for the Czechs' and Slovaks' coexistence and—in essence—our future status should be confirmed at the next round of talks. That is, an agreement on economic and monetary cooperation should be reached. The situation on the Czech side is very complicated, because many different opinions are being expressed there. We should also discuss agreements on civil rights and defense.

[Melicharkova] The ODS has expressed the view that the Army should be divided after 1 January 1993...

[Meciar] There are two extremes involved here. One is that the Federation will break up but the CSFR Defense Ministry and General Staff should continue operating on a federal basis. That is one extreme. The second extreme is that nothing will operate on a joint basis after 1 January. It is necessary to seek a sensible balance between these extremes, an agreement that there will be two armies and two defense ministries and they will conclude a treaty on what will be done jointly. However, the idea that the Federal Defense Ministry and the General Staff could be preserved is unrealistic. There can be no army without political supervision by the state. The Army cannot have a supra-state status.

[Melicharkova] Not so long ago, Army circles signalled that the formation of two home guards is under consideration...

[Meciar] When there are two states, home guards will not fulfill the Army's basic function. The function of a home guard is merely supplementary. So there may also be two home guards. The method for organizing our defense is rather complicated. We have been holding a Slovak Defense Council session since this morning, and two nights ago I was studying a defense plan of more than 600 pages. At the moment, this concept is very unclear and unpolished. It is necessary to wait a while. However, it is impossible for a Federal Army to exist after the break-up of the state without taking into consideration the changes taking place in our country. There has to be a state administration and political supervision of the army. If we did not have this, we would embark down the Yugoslav and Soviet road. In connection with the radical points of view on division, however, let me say that it cannot be done within three years, no matter who wants to do it and how it is done. It is technically impossible. It is necessary to react sensibly and seek a starting point, and that is somewhere in the middle.

Andrejcek: Army Division by Jan Not Possible

*LD1809024692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko
Radio Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 17 Sep 92*

[Excerpts] A briefing was held this morning at the CSFR Ministry of Defense. It was attended by Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcek and Air Force Commander Major-General Jan Ploc. Lubomir Zumar reports:

[Zumar] In his address, Imrich Andrejcek stressed that the main task of the army is not to allow it to become a source of tension. [passage omitted] Concerning the division of the Army, he noted that a separate Czech and a separate Slovak Army cannot be in existence by 1 January in the Air Force. This sphere and other spheres of common interests will perhaps—for a transitional period—be based on a treaty which will preserve their ability to function.

At the same briefing, Imrich Andrejcek announced the decision taken by the federal premier to recall Dr. Antonin Rasek, deputy defense minister in charge of social and humanitarian affairs, and to appoint Igor Urban, a Federal Assembly deputy, the new deputy minister.

Customs Intercepts Five Croatia-Bound Helicopters

*LD1809023192 Prague Federal 1 Television
Network in Czech 2015 GMT 17 Sep 92*

[Excerpts] As we had already informed you in the early evening news, the Central Customs Administration intercepted five Mi-8 military helicopters which a private Czechoslovak company tried to export, most likely

to one of the republics on the territory of former Yugoslavia; that is, to a territory under UN embargo. The Czechoslovak company declared that these helicopters are non-military. Central Customs Administration experts, however, confirmed that they are military. [passage omitted]

The manner in which the helicopters came to our country appears incredibly complicated. First of all, a Polish company sold them to a German company, that then sold them to a Czechoslovak company which tried to sell them back to the original German company. The reason for these transactions was the pouring over of money and creating a smoke screen over the destination of the helicopters.

The first helicopter arrived in Liberec from Poland in April and another four followed in June. Our pictures show two of them which are at present at the Ruzyně Airport in Prague. The market value of the helicopters proves that this was no small deal. The traders were supposed to receive 8.5 million dollars. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Could you tell us what the destination of these helicopters was?

[Unidentified foreign trade official] According to the latest information, the helicopters were destined for Croatia. I should add here that from the moment the helicopters arrived on Czechoslovak territory we knew about them and followed them; when the attempt was made to fly them to Croatia we stepped in and detained the helicopters. [passage omitted]

The issue is not only that the helicopters were to fly off but also the fact that they changed owners six times during the period they were landed in Czechoslovakia and nobody missed them, not even the original owner who is now claiming them back. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Macek Favors Disclosing Property of High Officials

*AU1809081192 Prague CSTK in English 2035 GMT
16 Sep 92*

[Text] Prague Sept 16 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Miroslav Macek (ODS) would support a law ordering high government officials to disclose their business activities and financial standing before taking up the function which would be compared with their standing when leaving the post.

Macek, whose own business activities met with strong criticism last week, told CSTK today that such a law would be optimum.

Macek, a co-owner of the heavily indebted company Telegraf, which was issuing a daily of the same name from January till August 1992, is also a co-founder of the J.R. Vilimek company. In a direct sale the company gained last week the state book wholesale enterprise Knizni Velkoobchod for 60 million crowns (over two million U.S. dollars).

In reaction to the deal, resolute objections were raised especially by opposition parties and deputies, some of them demanding Macek's resignation as deputy premier.

However, former Czech Privatization Minister Tomas Jezek confirmed that the project for the privatization of Knizni Velkoobchod was submitted by Macek's company and approved by the Czech Government at a time when Macek was not a cabinet member and hardly could assume that in the future he will hold a post in the government.

I am ready to vote in favor of such a law anytime, Macek said.

A bill on the conflict of interests, aimed at preventing high state officials from taking advantage of their access to information in their own business activity, was turned down by the Federal Assembly (parliament) April 14, 1992, mainly due to deputies from the civic democratic party (ODS). Macek, however, was not present at the time of the voting.

Asked whether he himself is willing to disclose his financial standing, Macek answered: anytime and without any problems.

CSTK Head Not Planning 'Revolutionary Changes'

*LD1509123192 Prague Stanice Praha Radio
Network in Czech 1030 GMT 15 Sep 92*

[Text] Federal Premier Jan Strasky introduced the new CSTK General Director Tomas Kopriva to his post today. Kopriva declared that he will not interfere politically in the agency's reports. He is not planning any revolutionary changes, he said, although he has often had certain doubts about the objectivity of reports. In his opinion, the professional standard of journalists is improving and will continue to improve in the future.

President Goncz Ends Visit to Slovenia

LD1809031592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 16 Sep 92

[Text] The president of the Hungarian Republic has ended his talks in Slovenia. Our special correspondent Gyoergyi Orban reports from Ljubljana:

[Orban] This fall there will be a meeting between the Hungarian and the Slovene heads of government at which several agreements will be signed, journalists learned at a press briefing in Ljubljana held by Slovene President Milan Kucan and Hungarian President Arpad Goncz. Kucan added that an agreement will be made on the protection of minorities that can be a good international example, too. The Slovene head of state regards permanent and intensive political dialogue in the Central European region as important. That is also why he proposed to Goncz that politicians and experts from neighboring countries meet frequently, as that would make cooperation more intensive.

The Yugoslav crisis was also mentioned at the meeting. To Hungarian Radio's question as to how many refugees Slovenia has received and whether this has strengthened the extreme right-wing movement and xenophobia, Milan Kucan said: [announcer-read] Slovenia is now providing for 100,000 refugees. They are all from Bosnia, mainly Muslims, for the Croatian refugees have already gone home. This figure is 5 percent of the Slovene population, and it cannot be denied that this has intensified the extreme processes, but far from the extent to which they have emerged in Germany, for instance.

Ministry Comments on Bratislava Soccer Match 'War'

LD1709222292 Budapest MTI in English 1313 GMT
17 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry maintains continuous contact with Hungary's consulate general in Bratislava and is collecting information on what happened at a Slovak-Ferencvaros soccer match on Wednesday [16 September], foreign affairs spokesman Janos Herman said.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry expects to receive a detailed report from the consulate general soon, Herman said.

A Hungarian Foreign Ministry department head summoned the Czechoslovak diplomat in charge of affairs in the absence of the ambassador to his office on Thursday afternoon.

National Office for Physical Education and Sports Vice President Laszlo Jakabhazy attended the Bratislava soccer game as representative of the office.

"Already upon arrival, I had the feeling as if I had been in a kind of war. Before the game, outside the field, there was a real chase after Ferencvaros fans. Commandos

battered everybody around them. I am sure they attacked Ferencvaros fans without any reason, hitting everybody, even women and children, brutally.

"During the break, I tried to ask for explanation but the local leaders just kept saying sorry. On my way out, I was spit at, as was the official car of the sports office," Jakabhazy said.

Reporting on the incident, Ferencvaros senior coach Tibor Nyilasi said:

"There were moments, when the whole thing reminded me of the tragedy at the Brussels Heysel stadium. Terror was raging, to the loud applause of 20,000 Slovaks, masked commandos battered and kicked the Hungarians, our fans, occasionally almost driving them out of their sector."

Hungary's national soccer federation deputy secretary-general Lajos Czekus said:

"It is true Ferencvaros fans are not really disciplined, but this time, they were quite moderate. There was no special reason to attack them and batter them. At present, the most important goal for us and for Ferencvaros is to prevent a revenge at the return game on 30 September, taking the necessary steps."

Head of the control and disciplinary committee at the UEFA [Union of European Football Associations] Bern centre Rene Eberle said by phone the committee will closely examine the reports as soon as it receives them, and may discuss the issue on Sunday.

Slovak Official Actions Condemned

LD1709220492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1800 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] The Hungarian Government condemns the brutal action of the Slovak authorities against Hungarian fans at yesterday's soccer match in Bratislava. At today's cabinet session it established that on the strength of television and video evidence, the unprecedented deployment of Slovak commandos was unjustified. A government spokesperson, speaking at a news conference, announced that Minister Balazs Horvath has written a letter asking the member of the Slovak Government responsible for sports supervision to investigate the events. The National Physical Education and Sports Office has also been instructed to clarify the matter.

According to a Slovak Interior Ministry spokesman, the deployment of police at yesterday's Slovak Bratislava-Ferencvaros match was necessary. Speaking to journalists, Major Riban justified the deployment of special police units because they thus impeded greater clashes from breaking out. According to the spokesman, nobody was seriously injured and material damage was insignificant.

Ministers, MP's Speak at Parliament Session

*LD1609221892 Budapest MTI in English 2048 GMT
16 Sep 92*

[Text] Budapest, September 16 (MTI)—In his contribution to today's parliament session, International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar criticized opposition MP's [members of parliament] for failing to take into account the burden of a serious heritage carried by the government.

Over the past four decades, Hungary fell to one of the bottom places in Europe regarding economic performance.

The last two years have seen a 70 per cent drop in exports to eastern markets, which in the late 1980's provided work to 700,000 people and accounted for a seventh of GDP [gross domestic product].

All East European countries have lost a bigger slice of the former Soviet market than Hungary.

The private sector already gives two-fifths of production, and the 12-year tendency of rising inflation was halted.

Kadar called for national cohesion to replace political squabbling in carrying out the desired changes, for which parliament could be an appropriate forum.

The faction head of the leading opposition party, the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD), Marton Tardos, stated that his party was always ready for cooperation in economic matters in parliament, an opportunity which the government did not utilize. He felt the government had failed to reveal problems in their true depth to society.

It has become clear by now that the promise to produce results in two years was illusory.

The main problem is not that the government's programme was mistaken, but that the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] MP's did not line up behind the ministers' intentions.

By running up new debts, the government exhausted hopes of the future, and achieved its present peace at the expense of our children, Tardos said.

Laszlo Bekesi (Hungarian Socialist Party, former minister of finance) stated that the government had not taken advantage of the unique opportunity offered by the shift in system. For this, society had to pay a much higher price than justified.

Economic performance has stagnated for ten years, restructuring shows no progress, and one-sided eastern orientation was replaced by a one-sided western orientation.

The government did nothing to counter the loss of traditional eastern markets, although Czechoslovakia, for instance, lost less ground on the former Soviet market than Hungary.

Rising inflation was stopped at the expense of recession and unemployment, Bekesi said.

He recommended to adopt an economic policy which aims to maintain financial balance, rather than improve it, and assists a growth of domestic consumption while giving absolute priority to curbing inflation.

According to Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa, the tasks mentioned by Bekesi and Tardos are contained in the government's economic scheme, and this programme will be realized.

Kupa stated that the government was not involved in the fall of communism, and its main duty was to achieve foreign economic balance and economic independence.

Regarding the reform of public finances, he admitted that the government was late, but in his view it was not right to burden people with unemployment at the same time with the reform of health services, social security and education.

Kupa also denied centralization efforts. Debt servicing makes up 20 per cent of the state budget, he said.

Bela Kadar added that while in the 1980's the national debt was equal to the four-year value of Hungarian dollar exports, this level has dropped to two years by today.

According to Russian statistics, Hungary's exports rose to the greatest extent last year, by 36 per cent.

Katona Discusses Debate

*AU1809104792 Budapest MTI in English 0847 GMT
17 Sep 92*

[Text] Budapest, 17 September (MTI)—The parliamentary Secretary of State of the Prime Minister's Office, Tamas Katona, discussed the parliamentary debate over the government's two-year activity, held on Wednesday [16 September], in an interview carried in Thursday's national daily MAGYAR HIRLAP.

Katona said that although the document was sharply criticized by opposition speakers, the tone first struck by the parliamentary group leader of the Alliance of Free Democrats, Marton Tardos, will be the guiding tone in parliamentary debates of the forthcoming period. Katona said Tardos's contribution was more analytical, instead of addressing the general public.

"This would be desirable in the future, one can learn from this," Katona said. "The national public interest is at stake, both the government and the opposition are in the same boat. We shall be ready to make compromises in the vital issues."

Katona noted that economic issues were the most frequently mentioned in the debate.

"I believe we should also talk about other pressing matters, such as the country's budget situation which is not a so-called numerical error, rather the deficit is due to our welfare obligations, since the budget is in balance. If we did not have to service our debt, which we inherited from the previous system, it would show a surplus.

"Criticism was also levied in connection with pensions. Since coming into office, the government has raised pensions by a total 60 billion forints, far more than the previous government at any time. (\$1 = 78.3 forints)

"The government report does not sufficiently discuss youth policy, and the minority issue should also be mentioned," the parliamentary secretary of state of the Prime Minister's Office said.

Trade Unions Agree on Distribution of Assets

*LD1809064792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 92*

[Text] The six trade union confederations have agreed on the distribution of assets. Of the 2.7 billion forint assets, the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSzOSz] would get real estate in the value of 1.2 billion; the League and the Workers' Councils 840 million; the Cooperation Forum of Trade Unions, the Trade Union Gathering of Intellectuals and the Independents 560 million; Solidarity and the trade unions outside the confederation some 40 million forints.

The branch assets that the MSzOSz estimates to be 2-2.5 times the value of the former National Council of Trade Unions' assets would be distributed by the trade unions on the basis of the outcome of the factory council elections.

From the 1.2 billion forint ownership of the county headquarters the MSzOSz would receive 40 percent; the League and the Workers' Councils 35 percent; the Cooperation Forum of Trade Unions, the Trade Union Gathering of Intellectuals and the Independents 20 percent; Solidarity and those outside the confederation 5 percent.

According to the agreement, the paper NEPSZAVA is issued by a company of joint ownership. The confederations will start special talks on the ownership proportions.

Confederation Agreement Invalid

*LD1809064992 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 14 Sep 92*

[Text] According to the interest-safeguarding organizations outside the six large trade union confederations and Solidarity, the agreement of the confederations on the distribution of assets is invalid. All the organizations

believe that all the members of the organization temporarily handling assets should be involved in the decision. They claim that it has not happened. The six confederations talked and decided in their absence. For this reason Solidarity will ask the prosecution to carry out a legality investigation if the parliament or the government takes notice of the agreement.

Statistics on Prices, Subsistence Level Published

*AU1709104192 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 16 Sep 92 pp 1,5*

[Unattributed report: "Central Statistical Office Report on Prices and Subsistence Level"]

[Text] According to the latest report of the Central Statistical Office [KSH], in August 1992, consumer prices increased by 0.8 percent over the July prices, which means that the price level increased by 20.7 percent in the past 12 months. In August 1991, the monthly increase was 0.2 percent and the 12-month increase was 23.2 percent.

The August price rise was lessened by the usual summer price reduction of fruit and vegetables and the end-of-season sale of clothing. Disregarding these, the August price rise is 1.2 percent. This is bigger than the figure—similarly calculated by disregarding seasonal factors—for June (0.9 percent) and July (0.7 percent)—that is connected to central measures: The electricity, gas, and drug price rises contributed 0.5 percent to the overall price increase.

The unit price of daytime electricity consumption over 600 kilowatt-hours [kwh] per household a year went up from 3.70 forints to 5.30 forints, and nighttime electricity over 2,400 kwh went up from 1.90 forints to 2.70 forints. A very large proportion of consumption is above the first level, but only a small portion is above the second. All in all, electric energy cost 21-22 percent more in August than in the previous month. The price of mains gas increased from 7.80 forints to 9 forints (or 15 percent) per cubic meter. In the case of some medicines, the population is paying a larger proportion of the cost because the portion paid by the social security was reduced, and this resulted in a 10-percent price increase in August. (The new prices were valid only from 17 August, therefore, the other half of the price increase will appear in the September price index.)

The 99.4 percent index of clothing reflects the end-of-season sales. In the other major groups, it is worth mentioning that the price of various types of coal returned to its previous level after the summer sales, and the price of certain soaps, body care products, cleaning materials, photographic products, and various repair services went up.

The price index of food (118.7 percent), alcoholic beverages and tobacco (119.0), consumer durable goods

(113.5), and household energy (116.7) was less than the average 20.7 percent consumer price increase over August 1991.

Within foodstuffs, the prices of fruit and vegetables were on average only 2 percent higher than in August 1991. The price increase of pork (50 percent), canned fish (56), eggs (64), soup powders (45-66 percent), certain spices (30-89 percent), and certain kinds of tea (39-68) stands out.

Among the household energy sources, heating oil was 12 percent cheaper than in August 1991. Central and district heating with 132 percent and bottled gas with 157 percent had the highest index. In the group of durable goods, the price of bicycles and radio and television sets hardly changed; furniture cost 20-23 percent more, refrigerators 21, and cars 10 percent more than a year before.

Price increases compared to August 1991 were higher than average in the group of so-called other industrial products, fuels, and services. In the first group, medicines and medical products had the biggest price rise (54 percent), certain car spare parts, and car fuels (24 percent). Among services, there was a bigger than average increase in the case of the joint costs of housing blocks of freehold apartments (60 percent), water charges (50 percent), sewerage charges (45 percent), car services (51 percent), taxi fares (49 percent), and domestic preferential holidays for working people [formerly arranged by trade unions] (93 percent).

In August 1992, the subsistence level of a family of two adults and two children was 35,546 forints in towns, which is 8,887 forints per head. One year ago, the same figures were 29,541 forints and 7,385 forints.

Single people living in towns have the highest subsistence level, which was 12,608 forints in August, and the lowest level applies to families with two adults and four children under 15 living in villages, which was 41,588 forints in August or 6,931 forints per head.

Agricultural Exports Slightly Down on Last Year

*LD1709140992 Budapest MTI in English 1508 GMT
16 Sep 92*

[Text] Budapest, September 16, 1992 (MTI-ECONews)—Hungary's agricultural exports will total USD [U.S. dollars] 2.3 bn [billion] this year, short of last

year's USD 2.5 bn. However, this year's exports to the EC countries will be 20-22 pc [percent] higher than last year.

At a press conference Tuesday [15 September], the Administrative State Secretary of the Agricultural Ministry Mr. Gyorgiy Rasko said that by the mid- 1990's, Hungary's agricultural exports may double, to USD 4-5 bn.

Mr. Rasko confirmed that Hungary is importing 6,000 tonnes of pork this year, but denied that the imports were intended to undercut the state's purchase price. There is a shortage of pigs in Hungary, and prices adapt to the market demand, he said.

Demand for Hungarian pork is growing in Croatia and Slovenia, Mr. Rasko said. These countries are prepared to buy around 30,000 tonnes of mainly semi-processed pork. In order to keep these markets, Hungarian companies can make up the shortfall from imports, he said.

By 1993, 90 pc of Hungary's 6 m [million] hectares of arable land, and 80-85 pc of the capital equipment, will be privately owned, the state secretary said.

The state secretary stressed that Hungary's agricultural work force needs to be cut by 30 per cent.

The ministry has been trying to revitalize agricultural investments, the state secretary said. HUF [Hungarian forints] 4-8 bn, mostly from privatization revenues, are available to fund a new investment program in 1993. The program may also draw on a USD 100 m loan from the World Bank and a ECU [European Currency Unit] 100 m loan from the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] that is targeted at eastern Hungary.

Over the last two years, 48 pc of the privatization revenues have come from the sale of food processing companies.

Domestic consumption of agricultural products has dropped 10 pc since the mid-1980's. Pork consumption has dropped by 20-25 pc.

Consumer prices will rise 4-5 pc in 1993, as a result of the introduction of a two-tier VAT [value-added tax] system and an increase in the VAT on food products. This will cause a further drop in demand, Mr. Rasko said.

Military Cooperation Agreement Signed With Latvia

LD1709141592 Warsaw PAP in English 1828 GMT
16 Sep 92

[Text] Riga, Sept. 16—Latvia is a country which is building up its Armed Forces literally from zero, and Poland should offer concrete proposals to assist the newly-independent country in this process, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Polish defence minister, said in the Latvian capital Riga on Wednesday [16 September], following the signature of an agreement between the two states on military cooperation.

Onyszkiewicz, on the second day of an official visit to Riga, signed the agreement at a meeting with his Latvian counterpart, Talavs Jundzis. He noted that the agreement formed a general framework for mutual cooperation, but that it would be supplemented with concrete proposals for joint undertakings. Among possible areas of Polish assistance, he highlighted training in Poland for Latvian officers, and the supply of communications equipment for the Baltic Republic's border guards.

Onyszkiewicz stressed that the new agreement was not directed against any other country, but rather a move to build cooperation between two nations with a long history of mutual contacts.

Also on Wednesday, Onyszkiewicz met with Martinsz Virsys, first deputy foreign minister, and Andrejs Krastinsz, deputy leader of the Latvian Supreme Council. He also met with members of the Council's Defence Committee.

Prime Minister Suchocka Meets Krakow Citizens

AU1709123692 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
14 Sep 92 p 1

[Ryszard Rybus report: "Searching for New Possibilities"]

[Text] "Three years ago a historic change occurred in Poland. On 12 September 1989 the Sejm appointed the first noncommunist government since the war. Today is a good occasion for considering how enormous the changes are that have taken place since then." That is how Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka began her speech in Krakow's main market square on Saturday [12 September] afternoon.

A meeting with the city's inhabitants was the high point of the prime minister's visit. The meeting, attended by a few thousand of Krakow's citizens, was opened by Minister Jan Maria Rokita. He emphasized the Wielko Polska tradition of systematic work and the considered, calm action ("the absence of political lunacy") that characterizes the political attitude of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and is well received in Krakow.

"There was no storming of the Bastille in 1989. The change in the system occurred peacefully. Fortunately,

there was no bloodshed and dismantling of the structures of the state. There were many people who disliked the 'roundtable' formula, but if we take a look at the Balkans and the former Soviet Union today, then we can only thank God that the change of system in Poland occurred in precisely that way," said Prime Minister Suchocka.

She pointed to the importance of the changes that have occurred over the past three years as well as to the starting point, that is, the economic ruin left by the previous system.

"We are slowly forgetting what Poland was like three years ago.

"That is why, although we are concerned about the recession and unemployment, it cannot be denied that the foundations of a healthy economy have been laid and that society has recovered its civic liberty. Mistakes were, of course, made. However, some of them were inevitable on a pioneering road, a road that no one had previously taken.

"Only he who does nothing avoids mistakes.

"I do not avoid telling harsh truths. Any government that would like to buy itself cheap popularity or social peace using the old methods must fail.

"With the collapse of the Soviet Union, our country has lost the defense industry's customers. One cannot produce things that no one needs any more. This is a tragedy for the work forces of many factories.

"However, neither protests or a return to the past will produce any solutions, those can only be found by searching for new possibilities," stressed Hanna Suchocka.

"The government will talk to trade unions and representatives of employees and employers, but we do not have a democracy in order to have to fear anarchy.

"I believe that we will shortly enter a period of calm and order, a time of useful work for Poland."

The prime minister's speech was interrupted by applause several times. Rumors that anarchists were planning to stage a demonstration proved to be unfounded.

Following the meeting, Hanna Suchocka, accompanied by a crowd of Krakow citizens, went to a collectors' fair that was being held on the other side of the market square.

She had earlier met teachers from the No. 1 Group of Mechanics Schools. The questions that were asked concerned political rather than educational issues. The assurances given by the prime minister that the Government would not make any concessions regarding the conflict in Tychy were greeted with applause.

Making a change to the schedule for the visit, Hanna Suchocka also met the rector of the Jagiellonian University, Professor Andrzej Pelczar. She attended a meeting

of the Krakow Democratic Union's presidium. In the late evening, the prime minister attended a new show at the "Piwnica pod Baranami."

Poll Shows President Has Biggest Influence

LD1709142692 Warsaw PAP in English 2021 GMT
16 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 16—Thirty-seven per cent of respondents to a poll carried out by the CBOS Public Opinion Polling Centre said that the president has the biggest influence on the developments in Poland. Another 37 per cent said it is the government.

According to 29 per cent of those questioned it is the Sejm (lower house) which had the biggest influence on developments on the national scale. 10 per cent said it was the church, while 4 per cent expressed an opinion that no one is running the country.

Asked who has the biggest say in their place of residence 32 per cent pointed to the head of local administration, 25 per cent to local administration as an institution and 30 per cent to the local self-government. 6 per cent of the respondents replied that it is the church and local priests who have the biggest influence on local development.

Geremek Views Suchocka Government's Future

PM1709081192 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA
in Polish 7 Sep 92 p 3

[Interview with Professor Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Democratic Union Parliamentary Caucus, by correspondent Katarzyna Kolenda; place and date not given]

[Text] [Kolenda] Has a split taken place within the Democratic Union?

[Geremek] No. There is no split within the Democratic Union parliamentary caucus, but there is the question of what to do next. Several of our colleagues from the Democratic Right faction (Alexander Hall's group) have announced that they will be leaving the caucus. However, their decision was not prompted by any ideological motivations. It is the consequence of the political plans and ambitions entertained by the group's leaders. We are awaiting developments in that area.

A national meeting of the Democratic Union Council will be convened in the immediate future. The Council will decide not only about the Democratic Right faction's position within the party's structure, but also about ways in which we can endure and safeguard efficient operation of the Union's leadership echelons.

[Kolenda] During one of your caucus meetings, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said that certain ministers in her government had behaved as if they were defending the interests of the striking work force...

[Geremek] The problem facing the coalition government is that it must work out a unified approach in its operations. The constitutional definition of the government's operating methods is quite vague, and the prime minister's prerogatives concerning the ministers do not carry statutory guarantees. Consequently, acting out of its sense of responsibility for the state, the government must bring in the principle of collective action. I must admit that this is a difficult task to carry out.

We should remember that from its very inception the Suchocka government was forced to meet the aggressive challenge presented to it by the whole strike movement. It is obvious that a coalition government that views all developments in terms of particular party interests will have difficulty with answering the demands of the striking work forces. However, I believe that the Suchocka cabinet has proved its worth in this ordeal. As it faces the challenge of the striking work forces, the government must act on the assumption that there must be reasons why strikes break out at all; consequently, there must be talks with the strikers' representatives. On the other hand, the government's brief is to govern, and it must not cave in under pressure. Giving in to the demands of one group will inevitably mean that the interests of other groups are jeopardized.

[Kolenda] It is said that the forum where the government coalition can best learn to coordinate its position is provided by semiprivate, confidential meetings between chairmen of parliamentary caucuses representing the largest party groups constituting the coalition—that is, yourself and Stefan Niesiolowski of the Christian National Union [ZChN]...

[Geremek] The "Coalition of Seven" is not bound by any obligation to pursue a unanimous policy. This means that there is no compulsory cooperation in parliament, and no unanimity in voting on such controversial issues as abortion or the postcommunist vetting proposals. The government is learning to coordinate its position through a natural process—that is through the routine work of the cabinet itself.

[Kolenda] Does this apply also to economic questions?

[Geremek] Contacts between leaders of the biggest parliamentary caucuses do indeed serve the purpose of coordinating our positions. I wish to stress that an inner "coalition of three"—the Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Congress [KLD], and Polish Economic Program [PPG]—is still in operation, and that within its framework we achieve a convergence of programs concerning economic issues. This means, that the "group of three" can both put forward a strong case for its position in parliament and persuade other coalition members to accept it.

[Kolenda] In what questions have you reached agreement with Stefan Niesiolowski?

[Geremek] We have had relatively few talks with Niesiolowski. They concerned mostly questions involving the

work of the Sejm itself, including its session agendas, or personnel changes within Sejm commissions.

[Kolenda] Do you also discuss such things as changes in individual ministries? For example, appointments of ministers and vice ministers?

[Geremek] No. There are no channels whereby we could influence such personnel changes. They are the government's internal concern.

[Kolenda] And do you ever talk about how to avoid conflict during Sejm debates on certain particularly delicate subjects? I am thinking of the abortion bill or the different proposed versions of the "communist vetting" bill...

[Geremek] It is inevitable that there will be differences of opinion between us as regards these issues, but our meetings can only contribute to a minimizing of potential conflicts.

[Kolenda] I must admit that I am not clear on the Democratic Union's position concerning the vetting bill. During last Saturday's Sejm session you demanded that the house reject the proposed versions of the bill submitted by the ZChN, the Center Alliance, Solidarity, and the Senate, as they also contain stipulations to carry out a decommunization process. On the other hand, you recommended that the proposals submitted by the KLD and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] be passed on to the Sejm Commission, as those which are concerned solely with security vetting schemes.

[Geremek] The Democratic Union is in favor of decommunization, but it prefers an option that will provide a constitutional framework for rejecting the communist mentality and communist institutions. We also want to ensure that a uniform measure applies to all as regards punishing proven offenses and transgressions. On the other hand, we are resolutely against all infringement of human rights and international conventions signed by Poland, and against all offenses against the principles contained in a rule-of-law state.

The KLD and KPN versions of a proposed parliamentary bill could serve as a foundation for defining the principles of a vetting law that will not infringe the philosophy of a rule-of-law state. In our opinion, none of the other proposals would provide such a foundation, and we were firmly in favor of rejecting them. However, in the end all the proposed versions were submitted to

the Sejm commission because the Sejm applied the principle of a joint vote on the whole package of the vetting bill proposals. This vote was incompatible with the democratic tradition, and I am convinced that it was a manipulative maneuver. However, the majority of the deputies opted in its favor. Nevertheless, we still have two readings of the bill to come up on the Sejm agenda, and I hope that these do not bring decisions that will violate the basic principles underlying both decent human behavior and the essentials of a rule-of-law state.

[Kolenda] What can we do to guarantee that these principles are maintained?

[Geremek] Introduce an appeals body to ensure that the eventual vetting commissions do not operate on the basis of arbitrary decisions.

[Kolenda] A couple of days ago, speaking in Suwalki, Minister Jan Rokita, who heads the Council of Ministers office, predicted that the present government will survive three years in office. Do you share his optimism, given the conflicts within the Democratic Union, and the possibility that the ZChN may disintegrate?

[Geremek] I should answer that I am not a fortune teller. Nevertheless, a politician is always drawn into speculating on an answer to such a question. I believe that Hanna Suchocka's government will survive for another year or even 18 months. Especially if we succeed in constructing a framework within which the state can be run—that is, passing the so-called "Small Constitution." If we fail in this, I am afraid that the only solution that will allow us to continue the democratic rule will be a new parliamentary election. An alternative solution would be for the president to demonstrate his supremacy over parliament, or to introduce a supraparty government. None of these solutions would bode well for Poland.

As regards the question of passing the "Small Constitution," I intend to appeal to all parliamentary caucuses comprising the government coalition to cooperate with us in our attempt to win two-thirds of all votes in favor of passing the "Small Constitution" bill. I will also hold talks in this matter with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. Despite all the problems that arose during Waldemar Pawlak's government-forming mission, we still maintain relations and continue talks with the PSL.

I believe that as soon as the relevant bill has been passed by parliament, the president will also decide to sign the "Small Constitution."

Nastase, Knazko Assess Results of Bucharest Talks*AU1709195092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1807 GMT 17 Sep 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/9/1992—Milan Knazko, the Slovak minister of foreign affairs, who paid a visit to Romania, told a Thursday, September 17, news conference that the interviews and talks he had had with Romanian high officials in Romania's capital had been very useful and necessary. He mentioned that opinions were convergent on bilateral ties and that he considered them to be below the level offered by the economies of the two countries. Mr. Knazko said that the two parties had agreed on the creation of groups of experts, to analyze the application of measures intended to ensure the enlargement of the cooperation between the two countries.

The Slovak foreign minister showed that he had met with representatives of the Slovak minority in Romania and was glad to see that the Romanian government was leading a correct policy on national minorities.

For his part, the Romanian foreign minister, Adrian Nastase, appreciated that the visit of his Slovak counterpart pointed to a special interest in the way Romania and Slovakia were willing to develop bilateral links.

"We have shown much interest in the developments in Czechoslovakia and will respect the will of the Czech and Slovak peoples concerning the political form and structures they want to choose for themselves. We want to continue to develop friendship ties with each of the two republics, if they decide to be distinct subjects of international law. We want to be among the first to establish diplomatic ties with the two republics and open as soon as possible embassies in both of them," said the head of the Romanian diplomacy.

The Romanian foreign minister showed that during his talks with his Slovak counterpart ways and circumstances were in view, that could facilitate a bilateral political dialogue, as well as the cooperation in the economy and in other fields.

The Romanian foreign minister also specified that the issue of national minorities had also been tackled, to see how it is approached in the two countries, while observing international standards. Related to this matter, the issue was raised whether the ones making accusations that national minorities are subject to a discriminatory treatment observe themselves the rules they invoke. The talks also referred to the way the two countries can participate in the dynamics of national minorities at an European level. The head of the Romanian diplomacy also said that he and his Slovak counterpart had agreed on the fact that the aforesaid issues had to be treated as human rights issues and not be used as an alternative political instrument.

The Slovak minister of foreign affairs, Milan Knazko, left Bucharest Thursday [17 September], at noon.

Trade Cooperation Discussed*AU1709194792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1705 GMT 17 Sep 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/9/1992—Romanian Trade and Tourism Minister Constantin Fota met Thursday, 17 September, with the Slovak Minister of International Relations and Vice-Premier Milan Knazko, with whom he examined the bilateral trade relations between the two countries, with a special stress on the need for securing the juridical background enabling the development of bilateral collaboration. The two sides agreed to render their support to the economic agents in the two countries for completing the negotiations on goods exchanges, for finalizing the planned joint cooperation projects, and survey the possibilities of opening banks devised to finance the goods exchanges and cooperation between Romanian and Slovak businesses.

Entry Visas Requested From Foreign Citizens*AU1809111792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0840 GMT 18 Sep 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/9/1992—There is mounting illegal frontier crossing in Romania, writes daily MERIDIAN, quoting data supplied at a news briefing given by the Romanian Ministry of the Interior. About 9,000 persons who intended to illegally get out of the country and some 1,000 who wanted to illegally enter the country were caught.

About sixty percent of them were caught by Romanian frontier guards. Most of the trespassers came from African and Asian countries. The number of illegal residents in Romania is put at 30,000.

In order to curb illegal immigration, the Romanian Ministry of the Interior has concluded an agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to enforce the requirement of an invitation for the issuance of visas of entry to Romania to citizens of such countries like Afghanistan, Angola, Albania, Bangladesh, China, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Mali, Nigeria, Somalia, Vietnam, Zaire, and other countries in the same geographical area, wherefrom sizable groups of "tourists" have come to stay.

PUNR Candidate Blames UDMR for Incident*AU1709204292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1852 GMT 17 Sep 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/9/1992—The candidate of the Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR) for president stated at a news conference on September 17 that in Timisoara there was an attempt on him, being convinced that it was "an action staged by the Democratic Convention and directed by UDMR (the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania) which is the engine of the Convention throughout the campaign."

and expressed his belief that no further incidents would happen in the time span until elections.

Current Situation of Presidential Candidates Viewed

AU1609181692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1439 GMT 16 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/9/1992—"Ion Iliescu's shadow looms over the whole election campaign," writes in EXPRES MAGAZIN Ion Cristoiu, literary and artistic director of that periodical, showing further: "the attitude in favor or against the president extends beyond the borders of the presidential campaign. Judging by the existing coalitions our political life seems highly diverse. The attitude towards Ion Iliescu, however, shows it to be more simple. Beyond the diversity of programmes, the parties involved in the election campaign make two blocs: for Ion Iliescu and against Ion Iliescu. According to its position to Ion Iliescu each party has a place in the political arena. We, therefore, can speak of a tremendous right-wing block, including the Democratic Convention and the National Salvation Front, and of a center-left bloc, which is more reduced but extremely violent. Although the parties on this side of the political stage do not make a coalition they are linked together because of their pro-Iliescu attitude. Some are favorable to the president overtly (the Democratic National Salvation Front, the Social Democratic Unity Party, the Socialist Party of Labor and the Romania Mare Party) and others are favorable eventually (the Romanian National Unity Party, the Agrarian Democratic Party).

"The indissoluble link between the two campaigns is also given by the party-presidential candidate relationship. The criterion of differentiation is the influence between the two elements—the candidate and the party. Ion Iliescu and Gheorghe Funar, two parties behind them and not the other way round. The relationship between Gheorghe Funar and the Romanian National Unity Party is favorable to the former. Mr. Iliescu is the typical case of a candidate meant to tow his party and the parties supporting him behind. Whereas the nomination of the other candidates by one party or a coalition of parties was the result of quests inside the respective parties and of competition between several contenders, in the case of Mr. Ion Iliescu the situation is netly different. His nomination by the Democratic National Salvation Front, the Social Democratic Unity Party and the Socialist Party of Labor was a gesture of goodwill from Mr. Iliescu rather than from the respective parties. The president's agreement to represent a group of parties finds an explanation in the political logic with difficulty. It is clear that it does not help Mr. Ion Iliescu; on the contrary, it is to his disadvantage. The support of his candidature by the parties sensibly reduces his room for maneuver. Furthermore, weaknesses from the party may reflect on Mr. Ion Iliescu."

Ion Cristoiu shows that "another presidential candidate, Ioan Manzatu, though backed by the Republican Party,

seems an independent candidate as his political grouping does not boast the force other groupings have. Mr. Caius Dragomir is a candidate visibly independent from the party that nominated him as a candidate—the National Salvation Front. A special situation is encountered in the case of Mr. Emil Constantinescu, the candidate of an alliance of parties—the Democratic Convention. In the case of the Convention, the two—presidential and parliamentary—campaigns almost unite. Primarily, because of the symbolic rather than political significance of the convention. Both the alliance and its candidate are a symbol of change to the electorate. Secondly, Mr. Emil Constantinescu is the sole candidate who is not the star of the party or of the coalition of parties supporting him. Emil Constantinescu seems one of the stars of the Democratic Convention owing to his late introduction into the electoral game and owing to the large number of front-ranking personalities."

FSN Candidate Says Alliance With CD 'Possible'

AU1709194892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1710 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/9/1992—Caius Dragomir, the nominee of the National Salvation Front (FSN) for president, told a September 17 news conference of this party that an alliance would be possible in the second ballot between FSN and the Democratic Convention (CD), if the latter and its candidate for Romania's presidency would offer enough guarantees that "the visible abusive prevalence of candidates of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-CD] on the CD ticket will not signify a change in the option on the form of government." Mr. Dragomir reasserted his republican option and opined that the voters would not opt for conservative-communist or nationalist-extremist ideas. The FSN candidate for Romania's presidency mentioned that his party was open to a post-electoral alliance with democratic forces.

Opinion Poll Shows CDR Leading in Elections

AU1709193192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1056 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/9/1992—The results of an opinion poll run by "LIBERTATEA" show that at the parliamentary elections of September 27, 29.5 percent of the electorate will vote for the Democratic Convention [CD] of Romania; 12.6 percent for the National Salvation Front [FSN]; 12.5 percent for the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]; 6 percent for Greater Romania Party; 5.9 percent for the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]; and 4.7 percent for the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania.

As regards the electorate's option for the presidential candidates Emil Constantinescu, the candidate of the Democratic Convention, is credited with 34 percent; Ion Iliescu, candidate of the FDSN, with 26.9 percent; Gheorghe Funar, PUNR candidate, 9.2 percent; Caius

Dragomir, FSN candidate, with 6.1 percent; Ioan Manzatu, candidate of Republican Party, with 4.2 percent; and Mircea Druc, independent, with 2.5 percent. In case of a second ballot 36 percent said they would vote for the FDSN candidate and 43.7 percent for the candidate of the Democratic Convention.

The poll was made on a batch of 1,140 people structured as follows: 52.4 percent residents of settlements with less than 20,000 inhabitants; 15.8 percent of towns with 20,000-to-99,999 inhabitants; 22.6 percent in towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, and 9.1 of Bucharest. The batch included 48.8 percent men, 51.2 percent women, 11.1 percent higher education graduates.

New Opinion Poll Shows CDR Losing Popularity

*AU1509192292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1202 GMT 15 Sep 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/9/1992—The weekly magazine "22" informs that, according to a poll conducted by the Independent Center for Surveys and Polls (CISS), the electorate's leaning for the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR) in the 27 September 1992 elections is now receding, after the peak it had recorded subsequent to the CDR's success in the local elections of February when, quoting official statistics, the parties composing the convention ripped 31.4 per cent of the suffrage as against 33.6 per cent gained by the National Salvation Front.

The same poll shows that while last March 36.7 per cent of the electorate would have voted for the CDR, in August, the percentage would have been only 32 per cent.

The share of votes contributed by each component party of the CDR shows the same vacillations over the three months surveyed (June, July, August): the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party (PNTCD)—8.1, 13.9, 10.7; the Party of Civic Alliance (PAC)—5.6, 8.4, 9.0; the National Liberal Party-Young Wing (PNL-AT), a splinter of Radu Campeanu's National Liberal Party (PNL)—4.2, 3.7, 3.1 per cent.

The figures furnished by the poll suggest that almost one third of the convention's voters are formed of supporters of parties that are not members of the Democratic Convention of Romania, first among them being the PNL-AT, whose fans are ready in a proportion of 54 per cent to vote for the convention.

Although favored by circumstances, the CDR stumbles over a lot of internal drawbacks, the greatest being its poor cohesion. However, the probability of its success weighs heavier in the race. The magnitude of this success and the capacity of the CDR to survive it are, yet, hard to predict. And, the commentary concludes, the future of the country may depend less on the success itself than on the CDR's capacity to survive it.

Water Supply, Electricity in Sarajevo Improving

AU1809145092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] The supply in Sarajevo of water and electricity is similar to yesterday's. All conditions exist for the situation to improve constantly if no unpredictable circumstances arise.

The quantity of water accumulated in the course of the night was sufficient and was released to the citizens at 0800 this morning. The Water Board is trying to distribute the water evenly, of course, subject to the technical capabilities, that is to say, operating readiness of the water distributing system.

The water continues not to be treated with chlorine; therefore, it must be boiled before consumption. The citizens who have no water are able to get it from the water tanker trucks wherever where the security situation allows.

The electricity situation in the capital has been improving constantly lately. It is estimated that some 80 percent of the town of Sarajevo has electrical energy. The remaining breakdowns on the high voltage grid will be repaired when the situation permits.

Hospital Appeals to Residents To Donate Blood

AU1809091392 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Nikola Bilic report—recorded]

[Text] [Bilic] Explosions are echoing throughout Sarajevo. Thick smoke is rising above Pero Kosoric Square as the top floors of two skyscrapers are burning. A cloud of thick smoke is also rising on the other side, somewhere above the Marshal Tito Barracks. There are fewer and fewer residents on the streets. Everybody is running, looking for the nearest shelter. At the Traumatology Clinic of Kosevo Hospital new wounded residents are arriving by the minute. Surgeon Faris Gavran Kapetanovic says:

[Kapetanovic] As you can see yourself there has been an extremely high number of wounded in the last three hours— all together 27 wounded between 1000 and 1300. These are again very serious wounds caused by explosions. The majority of wounded are civilians, some 95 percent of the wounded are civilians. Actually, we received only one fighter who had been wounded at the front. Therefore, all these are injuries inflicted upon civilians—children and seniors and younger adults.

[Bilic] People are, therefore, asked to seek shelter?

[Kapetanovic] With regard to the wounds that [words indistinct] it is of utmost importance that our residents find any type of shelter as this would provide at least some safety. These injuries were to a great degree, in approximately 99.5 percent of the cases, inflicted on the

street—either in the vehicles moving along the street, or on the street itself. Therefore, one should seek any sort of shelter as this would nevertheless provides some safety in comparison to the open spaces.

[Bilic] Thank you very much and let us hope that the number of wounded will not rise.

[Kapetanovic] I also hope so and thank you.

[Bilic] In the outpatients' department we talk to a wounded person. Where were you wounded?

[Patient] Above Djorjevica Salon [furniture shop] toward Kosevo Hill.

[Bilic] By a grenade?

[Patient] By a grenade.

[Bilic] Where there any other people there?

[Patient] There were two women some 15 meters in front of me and my son behind me.

[Bilic] Was your son wounded?

[Patient] My son was not wounded. I do not know what happened to the women, they fell on the ground just like I did.

[Bilic] You suffered head injuries?

[Patient] Head and shoulders.

[Bilic] And how do you feel at the moment?

[Patient] I am in a state of shock. The wounds were treated and bandaged, but I am agitated and anxious.

[Bilic] What is your name?

[Patient] [word indistinct] Muhamet.

[Bilic] Human aid, human blood is needed in such moments. We have arrived at the Institute of Blood Transfusion. We are talking to Dr. Haratic, director of the Institute. You issued an appeal for blood donors this morning?

[Haratic] We have had an enormous need for blood, blood derivatives, blood components, and so forth for weeks, or let me say months. Bearing in mind the situation, the great number of injuries, and so forth, as well as the fact that the situation is deteriorating daily, if I can say so, we issued an appeal this morning that truly addresses all the residents asking that they, if possible, come to the institute, phone the institute, or in some way contact the institute in order to organize blood donating actions.

[Bilic] Regardless of the blood type?

[Haratic] Regardless of the blood type. The consumption is, unfortunately, very high and due to this fact we practically need all types of blood immediately.

Sarajevo Radio Examines Battles in Republic

AU1709154292

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 17 September carries in its regular 23-minute newscast several reports on fighting throughout the republic.

Irfan Calo reports from Sarajevo Security Services Center that "the city has just been through the worst day of hell since the outbreak of the war." Reviewing the situation in the city commune by commune, he says that "the whole of Stari Grad is occasionally being shelled." As for the Center commune, "the enemy is shelling the central part, particularly Marijin Dvor." He says that "Novo Sarajevo is receiving the worst of it, it seems. There is a general artillery attack under way at the moment, accompanied by frenetic infantry fire as the Chetniks try to break through." He says that "Novi Grad is occasionally being shelled, the whole commune, particularly Alipasino Polje, Svrakino Selo, Vojnicko Polje, and the Olympic village, including all of Dobrinja." He reports that snipers are firing relentlessly, particularly in Dobrinja. As for Stup, he says that "all of it is being shelled." There are reports from Vogosca that "the enemy is shelling Kobilja Glava, where an UNPROFOR vehicle is on fire."

The announcer says that "the attack on the free territory of Vogosca continues today," and Rade Trbojevic takes over the report by saying that the fighting "reached its height at about 1300 with tank and 120-mm mortar shells."

Salih Brkic reports from Tuzla that "this morning has again been filled with the sound of alarms. Just before 0900 an air-raid alarm was again sounded." He says that "yesterday, the criminal planes were again in action, but these killer pilots made a mistake, and after one of the two attacks on the region of Ormanica, they fired missiles at a village where, by the way, their own people live. Planes were in action over Zivinice, mainly in the Golubinjak area. Last night and this morning the chetniks continue fierce attacks towards Gradacac." He then

says "there is a report from Kalesija that, around 0950, enemy planes bombed the area around Medvjedje and [words indistinct] other parts of the communes of Zvornik and Kalesija."

The Brcko press center reports that "at 1020 we heard in our shelters the sounds of the Yugoslav army's fighter aircraft engines. At 1025 the Yugoslav planes started gunning targets on the free territory of Brcko. At 1105 the signal for the end of air-raid danger was given." It reports that "the occupying forces" attempted another "infantry breakthrough in Dizdarska" but were reportedly repelled. This report ends with the words "an air-raid alarm has just sounded."

The announcer says that "yesterday and overnight, the aggressor was attacking the units of Bosnia-Herzegovina armed forces along the whole front line from Bihac to Cazin." He says that "on the front near (?Golubica), where fighting went on for four days, the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina armed forces defeated the enemy, who were reinforced by the 83rd special paratroopers unit from Nis, and the cadets from the military academy for land forces."

Reporting from Mostar, an unidentified reporter says there was some shelling overnight, but then switches to "today's news conference, at which Tihomir Maric, the secretary of the government of the Croatian Defense Council of Mostar, presented decisions adopted at yesterday's session of the government." She says there has been an introduction of "war tax up to 300 German marks for all workers from the commune who work abroad, and 150 German marks for pensioners who receive foreign pensions, the paying of which relieves them from mobilization."

An unidentified correspondent reports from Konjic that "the last 24 hours have been somewhat quieter than the previous few days."

The announcer reports that "this morning at 0700, a fierce attack by the Serbian-chetnik Army was launched in the northwestern part of the Livanj battlefield. At about 0800, a general danger alarm was sounded in Livno."

Sides Withdraw From Croatia-Serb Krajina Border

LD1709170692 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1511 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Excerpts] Knin, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—The Croatian forces and the forces of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) on Thursday [17 September] withdrew five kilometers inside their territories from the line of conflict along the Dalmatian part of the border between the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and the RSK.

Under the same plan, the U.N. protection force (UNPROFOR) took up positions along the demarcation line.

According to a report by the joint commission for establishing and monitoring a ceasefire, UNPROFOR troops have set up permanent check-points and tightened control along the frontline.

The "blue helmet" forces will with particular attention monitor all sensitive points, such as the Zemunik airport near the Adriatic town of Zadar, the broader area around Drnis and the dam of the Peruca hydroelectric power plant. The dam was held by Serbs, and all the sides withdrew their forces within eight kilometers from the dam, the report said.

The warring sides are still to be separated in the Skradin hinterland and around the villages of Cista Mala and Cista Velika, which is to be achieved by UNPROFOR's constant presence in the region, the report added.

It said the conditions were not ripe for the return of refugees. [passage omitted]

The Peruca power plant, one of the important strategic points, was on Monday put under the temporary UNPROFOR control. UNPROFOR representatives said the plant was put back into operation. [passage omitted]

'Dissatisfaction' With UNPROFOR Discussed

92BA1400D Zagreb VECERNJI LIST
in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 92 p 6

[Article by Milan Jajcinovic: "Tourist Cyprus and the Egyptian 'Foot'"—first paragraph is VECERNJI LIST introduction]

[Text] The champions of the idea that Croatia should structure itself after Israel's model would like it to behave like Egypt?! This is apparently an absurdity, but actually it is not. Israel, in fact, has survived thanks to the military structure of its state. The general military readiness has prevented its neighbors from "throwing it into the sea." As one of its neighbors, Egypt, also had such intentions. When the blue helmets came to the Middle East after one of the wars to try to keep the peace that had been disrupted by war, Egypt very quickly

refused hospitality to them. In spite of all the differences, Croatia's situation is similar to both Israel's and Egypt's.

There is more and more dissatisfaction with what UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has done so far. Impatience is swelling from day to day, and its only result has been more slowness on UNPROFOR's part. Can that slowness and inefficiency lead to a denial of services to the "blues"? That possibility was recently announced by the Croatian Government's prime minister-designate, Hrvoje Sarinic, and it was also discussed in London and Sinje by President of the Republic Dr. Franjo Tudjman. At the same time, the refugees from Baranja have given a deadline to the government and UNPROFOR to arrange for their return by the end of this month. If it cannot be arranged, they claim, they will organize on their own and go back to Baranja. The statements by the prime minister and president, and the announcements by the people from Baranja, are undoubtedly aimed at putting pressure on the world community to wake up and get the peacekeeping forces sent to Croatia to be effective. The pressure is quite legitimate; the question is just whether anything can be achieved.

To date, there have been few places where the blue helmets have achieved anything, and everywhere they either remained for a long time or are still there, for example on Cyprus. It is not certain that that will not be the case in Cyprus as well. That habit does not even have to be just a consequence of any high-level policy and its public or secret interests. It may simply involve what is often called the "human factor." If one just looks at the countries from which the "blues" have come, a lot of this becomes clearer. Nepalese, Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, Kenyans.... Soldiers from poor countries, where the average wage is around a hundred dollars. At home, a hundred dollars a month, but here at least a thousand! In spite of all the commands and the tasks undertaken, who is crazy enough to act in such a way as to have this end as soon as possible? If they carry out the task that has been assigned as soon as possible, their sudden prosperity will end; and actually, it is not certain whether the international community wants them to leave Croatia as soon as possible, since while they are here, they expect that they will have at least some sort of control in this region. They probably believe that otherwise there would be a new conflict of "Balkan tribes."

There are a multitude of reasons for Croatia's dissatisfaction with what UNPROFOR has done to date. But perhaps the expectations were also unrealistic? The public was assured that the "blue helmets" were coming to restore the Croatian authorities in the occupied areas and return the refugees to their homes. Neither one happened. On the contrary, they came, as everywhere until now, to separate the opposing sides and "petrify" the existing situation. UNPROFOR has not even completely done that in Croatia, however. As long as the UN soldiers, for example, are protecting the so-called Krajinas, their "territorial forces" and various "militias" are psychologically unburdened, and are leaving for Bosnia

with all the heavy weapons. Is it really by chance that the Greater-Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina started the war when they had secured what was conquered in Croatia through UNPROFOR's arrival? Those who are not in Bosnia are stealing oil, cutting down forests, and hunting prime game in the UNPA [UN Protected Area]. UNPROFOR knows all this and is keeping silent, or it is simply "being made a fool of." Admittedly, thanks to the UNPROFOR troops, Osijek and Karlovac are not being hit any longer, but a few days ago it was precisely from the zone under their control that Nova Gradiska was hit, and moreover from the "nonexistent" cannons.

Croatia has a multitude of reasons for dissatisfaction with what the "blues" have done so far. Can this also lead to an official cry of "UNPROFOR, go home!"? Naturally, Croatia today is still in a different situation than it was a year ago. It is not an Israel, to do whatever it wants, but it should not be an Egypt, either...

Request for Croats Return to Baranja Examined

92BA1400C Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
31 Aug 92 p 6

[Article by Marko Barisin: "Return to 41 Baranja Towns"—first paragraph is NOVI VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] The Croatian Government's commissioner for Baranja has extended the demand regarding the number of towns in which conditions should be guaranteed by 30 September for the return of expelled Croats and Hungarians.

Osijek—The Croatian Government's commissioner for the Beli Manastir opstina sent a letter to the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] representative for the area of Baranja, Mr. Mohamed Abdul Aziz, with a demand that conditions be created immediately, by 30 September 1992 at the latest, for the return of refugees to nine towns in Baranja that were inhabited by a primarily Croatian or Hungarian population before the war.

Since by agreement among the Croatian Government, UNPROFOR representatives, and representatives of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the deadline for creating conditions for the return has been extended until 30 September 1992, the government's commissioner for the Beli Manastir opstina, Marko Kvesic, extended the demand for the refugees' return to another 32 towns, which were also inhabited by a majority Croatian or Hungarian population.

In explaining his demand, the government commissioner emphasized that the process of the ethnic cleansing of Baranja had not been stopped, as demonstrated by numerous statements from the UNPROFOR peacekeeping forces on the territory of Baranja. At the same time, Baranje is being settled without any interference by a Serbian population from Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the purpose of fundamentally changing the ethnic composition of the population. Those processes can only be halted by the return of the expelled population.

The theft of citizens' private property is now assuming disturbing dimensions. The stolen property is being taken without any interference to Vojvodina, where it is being sold at bargain prices in markets in Sombor and Subotica.

The letter emphasizes once again that the Baranja refugees have already lost two agricultural seasons, since the 1991 crop was stolen and it was not possible to organize agricultural production for 1992 because of the occupation. If the refugee population does not return by the end of this September, a third agricultural season will also be lost forever, resulting in economic catastrophe.

It especially demands protecting the few agricultural products that the peasants possess, because reports are arriving that those are either being purchased by forced or literally seized.

The letter especially demands that normal education conditions be ensured for the youngest generation, whose intellectual development has been halted by the war events. Children have been left without basic human rights, and now this is really the last opportunity to allow them finally to continue their education, because otherwise we will all be responsible for the worst form of genocide against children, who are the future of every state community.

At the end of his letter, Marko Kvesic emphasizes that borders cannot be changed by force, and that there are no longer any reasons for postponing implementation of the peace plan, and if the local occupation authorities do not want to accept it, then other mechanisms have to be initiated that will make it possible to implement the peace plan.

If conditions are not finally created by 30 September for the return of the refugee population to the Baranja area, it is now quite certain that people will organize on their own and go to their homes, with appropriate protection and security that will be offered them by the competent authorities.

Federal

Panic: Expulsion From UN Would 'Jeopardize' Peace

LD1709152192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1341 GMT 17 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 17 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister Milan Panic told the news agency ASSOCIATED PRESS (AP) on Thursday Yugoslavia's expulsion from the United Nations would seriously jeopardize his struggle for peace.

"I truly hope that the United Nations are not going to expel us. That would seriously jeopardize my struggle for peace," said Panic.

"At present, it would not be helpful to my government to be suspended from the United Nations. On the contrary, it could create more trouble in Yugoslavia," he added.

Panic said he hoped the United Nations "will understand the delicate situation of my government which is striving for peace."

"The United Nations would be punishing my new government for the policies of the old government. That is not fair," said Panic adding that Yugoslavia's expulsion from the United Nations would weaken his influence in Bosnia.

In such a situation, he added, "we would be removed from the negotiating table and that would be a grave mistake."

Panic said he supported the imposing of a "no-fly" zone over Bosnia and added he would use his "influence" to persuade Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic to accept the plan.

Cosic Supports Panic UN Application

LD1709195192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1803 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Statement released to TANJUG by Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; date and place not given; punctuation as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—"The proposal that Yugoslavia be expelled from the United Nations and thus even more isolated from the world community, has understandably caused great concern and fierce reactions, which have suddenly deepened anxieties among all patriots and political factors in the country.

Mr. Milan Panic, the federal prime minister, himself surprised with the persistence of the EC and the United States in their drive to deprive Yugoslavia of state continuity and force it to reapply for UN membership under conditions of uncertainty, and in his concern for

the realization of the main goal of his foreign policy—the ending of the sanctions—has decided to consider the proposal to break with Federal Republic of Yugoslavia continuity.

His statement in Moscow about that possibility has understandably caused hasty and categorical reaction of the Serbian Government, reaction aimed at protecting the Constitution and declarations of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. A far too strong confrontation between two political conceptions has been created among the public.

The council for harmonization of stands on state policies discussed this today. Following a lengthy discussion, a joint stand has been reached giving, under certain pre-suppositions, Prime Minister Milan Panic and the federal government space for the continuation of our peaceful and constructive policies, aimed at returning the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the world community and of adopting an equal status worthy of a free country.

The graveness of our international position is causing, and will continue to cause for a long time, political misunderstandings and conflicts among political and state factors of our society.

As a democratic society, we must get used to not viewing political differences as national tragedies. It would be a greater tragedy if we were to hide them and if they were not manifested publicly.

I am convinced that the democratic development of our society will continue to produce "political crisis." Crises are not just times when misfortunes are endured, but also times of creation and progress."

Parties Reaction to Panic UN Application Viewed

LD1709193392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—"By announcing that the Yugoslav Government will apply for UN membership, Prime Minister Milan Panic supports, in effect, the demands of some countries for the expulsion of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the United Nations," TANJUG was told today by Borisav Jovic, chairman of the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije; SPS]. He also added that "Now one must seriously raise the question of whether the SPS should continue to trust Prime Minister Milan Panic's government.

Jovic believes that this move by Prime Minister Milan Panic will discourage those countries which have a friendly attitude toward us and oppose Yugoslavia's expulsion from the United Nations. "Such an attitude inflicts a great deal of damage, irreparable and uncalculable damage, on our country. It is arguable whether this damage can be alleviated at all, even in the event of the government not passing this announced decision, given

its negative consequences for those countries which are inclined to friendly relations with us," Jovic said.

The leader of the ruling party also warns that the government's decision on admitting the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the United Nations would be at odds with the Federal Assembly's decision that the policy of preserving the continuity of Yugoslavia, of which the public is familiar with the reasons behind this, must not be given up. "We are not capable of bearing responsibility for such and similar moves which will surely inflict, and will continue to inflict, enormous damage on our country. We believe that it is necessary to do everything in order to avert the damage that can be inflicted by such moves," Jovic concluded. [passage omitted]

Montenegrin Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic believes "Any diplomatic move is acceptable which would reintegrate us into the international community swiftly and fully".

Lekic stressed that he can speak about Panic's proposal only conditionally, because he does not know much about its background or whether there are guarantees and promises behind it. "In any case, no proposal should be rejected a priori if it is aimed at ending sanctions and international isolation." [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Views Efforts at UN Expulsion

LD1709135592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1016 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—Ilija Djukic, new foreign affairs minister for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), describes the announced expulsion of Yugoslavia from the United Nations as being, without doubt, a new form of pressure on our country.

"If what is being announced does happen, Yugoslavia will not disappear," Djukic told TANJUG and Belgrade Radio. He went on to add: "It will make our position very difficult, but it will not be the end of the world or of Yugoslavia."

Djukic indicated that if expulsion was carried out, Yugoslav diplomacy would be faced with a difficult and arduous task of restoring the country's place in the world community. "We will continue to pursue our old policy, that is, the policy of peace and of peaceful solutions to all conflicts and of negotiations with the new neighbors of the FRY," Djukic said.

"Yugoslavia must sit at the negotiating table regardless of whether we are a member of the United Nations or not. The sooner we start talking to our new neighbors (the former Yugoslav republics) and the sooner we reach sensible solutions, the sooner the situation in the country will stabilize and the easier our return to the United Nations will be," Ilija Djukic said.

In Djukic's view, invoking history and insisting on what Yugoslavia was and what role it used to play will not help

us a great deal today. "We must look to the future and do our utmost to stabilize Yugoslavia and the entire region."

Asked to comment on the discrepancy between the verbal support that Prime Minister Panic is being given daily throughout the world on the one hand, and the growing pressures on the FRY on the other, the Yugoslav foreign minister said: "There is no doubt that these are pressures on the FRY and that there is a paradox in this whole situation. In any case, there is an indication that, unfortunately, compromises are being made at our expense. The Yugoslav crisis turned into an international problem some time ago. What should have never been allowed to happen has unfortunately happened: The Yugoslav crisis is being resolved not by us but by others. In view of this, the Yugoslav Government has launched an initiative to show the world that we are a serious country prepared to reach agreements with our neighbors."

In another reference to verbal tributes from the world, Ilija Djukic said that, however, it was not only verbal support that was at issue. "The image of Yugoslavia in the world has started to change recently. The truth about Serbia and Montenegro is coming through, the world press has been writing more objective commentaries on the Yugoslav crisis."

"This is a modest achievement but a very important one. We will still have problems on the world scene, undoubtedly," Djukic warned.

Despite all present and future troubles, the Yugoslav foreign minister believes that a sensible policy can help to overcome all this. "We must not neglect either our new or old neighbors. We will try to develop new relations with everyone, in particular with those with whom we used to live until just yesterday," Djukic said.

In the newly created circumstances, it is extremely important to have a fully prepared diplomacy. To this end, Ilija Djukic stressed, we need an effective and highly professional Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "There will be painful cuts. We do not need such a large ministry; its size became outmoded a long time ago. Even some aspects of its concept of political priorities have become outmoded. We will establish very clear and rigorous criteria, and those who cannot conform to them will have to leave. The basic criteria will be professionalism. We will do everything to drop the Buggins's turn [rotation by turn rather than merit] as a criterion. The policy of Buggins's turn inflicted great injustice and generated many mistakes," the Yugoslav foreign minister told Belgrade radio and TANJUG.

Panic Comments on Elections, Prevlaka

LD1709175792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Podgorica, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—Asked by the POBJEDA daily of Podgorica what could force him to

step down, Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic said only the Yugoslav people. He called those who are now trying to topple him "small fish." I cannot see why some people want old Yugoslavia so much. Old Yugoslavia—old problems, new Yugoslavia—the new beginning, the Yugoslav prime minister said in the interview which POBJEDA will publish on 18 September.

Find me a single reason for continuity and I will fight for it, Panic added that Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng asked why it is so important to us to have old Yugoslavia. I replied that it is important to us to be members of the United Nations and he expressed the view that we should certainly be members, Panic said. Asked whether Yugoslavia will be required to meet some conditions, Panic answered "certainly." The international community demands the end to ethnic cleansing, that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina stops, and the international community is now saying: You have started the process of democratization and now you must fight for it. I am not convinced that we will lose the UN seat. As Li Peng told me, the issue is in what way to get the seat, Panic said. It is up to us to prove that we are worthy of UN principles and I believe that this will not be difficult because our country is democratic, Panic said.

Asked about Montenegrin support during the vote on the motion of no confidence, Panic noted that he has great support in Montenegro. I believe that there is no other reason for this than that policies of my government are your policies, Panic said. We were together in London, and fortunately I had with me several Montenegrins who gave me moral support to do what I thought to be necessary, Panic said and added: Sincerely speaking, they gave me support to replace the previous delegation at negotiations.

Asked to comment on opinion polls showing that 82 percent of the citizens of Belgrade and 62 percent of the citizens of Yugoslavia support him, Panic said that he did not trust opinion polls and that it would be better to say that his policies are popular and not him. I think that I am the man who will return pride to Serbs and Serbia, to everyone living in Yugoslavia. Our pride is lost because of people who did not know how to lead Yugoslavia. As far as Montenegrins are concerned, they have pride and there is nothing to be restored there, Panic said.

Asked to comment on allegations that he is "a traitor" and that he is selling Serbia, Panic said that people insinuating this are not worthy of his comment. These are cheap political "tricks" which should be removed from the political system, but I understand that this is not possible to accomplish right now, because this is just the beginning of democratization, Panic said.

On being asked about the upcoming election, Panic said that he has not yet decided what his position is going to be. At the moment, I am responsible to all citizens of Yugoslavia and I believe, provided they have been given true information, that our people will know how to

choose the option that suits and benefits them most, said Prime Minister Milan Panic. We have problems with our media, something I will examine next week, Panic said and warned: "We must cease lying." Panic will decide, as he says, on his participation in the elections following consultations with his advisers about what his further political moves should be. I am thinking about how to help my people best. I really do not have any political ambitions, he explained.

Asked about Slobodan Milosevic's participation in the elections, Panic said that Slobodan Milosevic should be asked this question. On one occasion, Panic noted, my impression was that he told me he was not going to participate. It seems that if he becomes president of the Socialist Party of Serbia he will not be able to be Serbia's president under the law. Nevertheless, you have to discuss these matters with him, Panic said. We cannot fire politicians, they are removed by people, Panic said upon being asked who he would like to fire among the current politicians if he was authorized to do so. I would like to organize fair elections so people can replace whoever they believe should be replaced, he said.

The most important thing in all this, he added, is to provide truly accurate information for the public. The sanctions, for example, have never been discussed by the Yugoslav public. Yet, we must analyze every article in the decision to impose sanctions—how they were introduced and how to lift them. The world is not against us and as long as we believe those who talk along these lines we are at odds with ourselves, Panic said.

Asked whether further resignations could be expected these days from the people who are very close to him, Panic said: "This is some odd Serbian way. I fire them, then two days later they tender their resignation. We should stop cracking these little political jokes. When someone is dismissed, he is dismissed, he has not resigned. There is no tragedy about this anyway. What is tragic is the fact that this country is in such a situation while the current team has scored a series of total failures. In a democratic system, I think, you can always expect resignations, dismissals, and sackings.

Explaining how one could become a member of his team, Panic says that people suggest a number of candidates, then he talks to them and it boils down to who may be needed at any given moment. This is reflected in the cases of some people whom I dismissed. If I need an offensive team I cannot employ a fullback or goalkeeper—you know who I am talking about. I think that in foreign affairs we have scored so many of our own goals that if I were in his shoes I would refrain from saying anything about our policy so far, Panic said. Panic then said: "I am most pleased with my defense minister since he does what I want him to do. Ask our General Staff and generals whether they are satisfied—I believe you will get a positive reply. The Yugoslav Army is becoming a proud army once again, something I find very important. It is my responsibility to instill those

who are now in the Army with pride and to make those youngsters who are yet to be recruited fit this mould."

As far as Prevlaka is concerned, Panic reminded that before his departure for the London conference he stated that he will not give up an inch of the territory. This is also a question of our pride—the real pride and not the false one. The ones who speak about pride in our country must take this into consideration before they make any comments on Panic, the prime minister said. Panic then said: "As far as Prevlaka is concerned, my opinion is clear and simple. Tito drew the borders with a pencil. As we have no better borders we can accept them for now but I think that those borders are temporary. It is unfortunate that according to Tito's borders Prevlaka belongs to Croatia. Talks with Cyrus Vance and Franjo Tudjman about Prevlaka were launched before I became prime minister. An agreement about the demilitarization of Prevlaka and its control by UN and the international community was almost completed before my arrival. I made the last desperate move to secure Prevlaka at the price of giving up some other territory. I offered three times as much territory to Tudjman situated at any other place, of course outside of Belgrade, Zemun, and similar places. He replied that this was politically impossible for him. I think we will be able to solve these matters in two to three years. In the meantime, Vance said that he expects implementation of the plan on the internationalization of this territory and its control by the UN. This is not the best solution. The best would be if I managed to get Prevlaka for Montenegro and Yugoslavia but in these conditions the results were not bad."

Panic stressed that the statement that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not have any territorial pretensions has to be taken into account and this statement was adopted by the Federal Assembly on 27 April before his arrival. "If they really meant what they stated and if that included Prevlaka then they should not criticize Panic and his government. According to this document Prevlaka should belong to Croats, and the Yugoslav Government, with the Serbian and Montenegrin ones, has created a better situation then the one accepted by the Assembly," Panic said.

Asked how similar his standpoint on Prevlaka is to the standpoint of the Montenegrin Government, Panic answered "entirely." I will not do anything without the approval of the Montenegrin Government and the Montenegrin people, Panic stressed in an interview with Slavoljub Scekic, a correspondent of the Podgorica daily POBJEDA.

General Staff Announces Release of Conscripts

LD1809121192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0921 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army General Staff has decided that all conscripts who entered service between July and September last year are to be released from their units between 21 and 25 September this year, it was announced today.

This decision has been made in keeping with the efforts of the country's state and military leadership to reduce the tensions and to restore peace in the area of the former Yugoslavia. On this occasion the Yugoslav Army General Staff points out the significant contribution this generation of soldiers has made in the preservation of the country's security at this fateful time for its survival.

Fuel Shortages Affect Railroad Traffic

92BA1400A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 92 p 17

[Article by C. Lakic: "78 Trains Canceled Because of Fuel"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Increasingly more difficult railroad situation; not only is there no fuel, but there are also no spare parts, motor oil, and everything else needed for locomotives to operate; why increased efficiency is not being taken into account in bus transportation.

It is unpleasant when a Fiat is left in the road without fuel, to say nothing of when it happens to a bus or train. Two days ago it did happen, fortunately at the Pirot railroad station. The locomotive of a passenger train was left without oil. Fortunately there was a freight train nearby whose locomotive took over the passenger one, and so the passengers reached their destination.

Locomotives at a Standstill

As we learned at the Belgrade ZTP [Railroad Transportation Enterprise] operational service, during the past 24 hours a total of 78 trains have been canceled because of a lack of fuel on this enterprise's lines, i.e., in the Republic of Serbia. Passenger trains have been affected the worst, but a large number of freight trains have also been left without locomotives at the Kosovo Polje and Kraljevo railroad junctions, and then from Nis toward Zajecar and on several other routes. The people at the railroad are doing everything possible to get the necessary amounts of oil from the enterprises that deal in selling oil derivatives, but they are not being successful in this. Almost nowhere in the interior is there any oil, at least for the railroad's needs.

The railroad workers' problems with oil are now also being joined by problems with electric locomotives. According to Petar Perek, director of the transportation section in Subotica, recently the problem has been a shortage of imported spare parts. In addition to this, fuel oils for locomotives are also becoming a problem. There is not enough motor oil, along with everything else necessary for a motor to function normally.

There Are Also Half-Empty Buses

Consequently, the situation on the railroad lines is becoming worse and worse. Three nights ago, the locomotive on one express train broke down three times.

Some automotive transportation enterprises are also have trouble in acquiring oil, while others are not operating economically. Half-empty buses, regularly maintaining their lines, are rushing along the west Moravian highway between Krusevac, Vrnjacka Banja, Kraljevo, and Cacak. Daily passengers say that Cacak's Autoprevoz has a bus between Cacak and Krusevac every hour. We verified for ourselves that the bus from Vrnjacka Banja to Kraljevo was only carrying five or six passengers. Connecting buses are also traveling empty between these two cities. From the bus station in Kragujevac, many intercity buses head toward the interior with only a few passengers. The day before yesterday we saw a Lasta bus from Smederevo, when at 1130 it took only five or six passengers on the route toward Pozarevac, and on the same day, at the ticket gate in Bubanj-Potok, a Jugoprevoz bus from Velika Plana left Belgrade with five or six passengers in the direction of Velika Plana. The same thing is happening with buses arriving at the Belgrade bus station these days from more remote places.

Is this situation known to the Serbian Transportation Ministry and the Chamber of Commerce, which is willing to comment on every event, or is it, as a Chamber, not very interested in more efficient consumption of oil in transportation? The transportation organizations do not need verbal support, but rather someone who will state clearly how large an amount of fuel the carriers can count on. It is high time to determine priorities and estimate the republic's requirements. If things continue as in the last few days, there will not be any transportation on some routes, and the fact that the school year is starting also has to be kept in mind.

Cosic: Europe 'Pushed Us Into War'

92BA1401A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
2 Sep 92 p 8

[Interview with Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic reprinted from ESPRESSO; place and date not given: "Europe Pushed Us Into War"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] Germany today, at peace and unchecked, is against the Serbs again, and by exploiting the Croats, it is actually getting what it lost in World War II; the drama of Serbia and Croatia is actually the same as the one between Cain and Abel; all the most ominous cultural and political elements of the 20th century are now finding fertile ground in Croatia; what is happening is the recreation of Austria-Hungary, staged by Germany; by recognizing Bosnia, the Americans are trying to weaken Europe, because they are afraid of it.

The Italian weekly ESPRESSO, in an issue that bears the date of 6 September, is publishing an interview with Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] President Dobrica Cosic. Presenting him as the "president of little Yugoslavia," but also as the "greatest Balkan writer," the newspaper says that Cosic, in this exclusive interview,

"explains his country's position and the reasons for most of the irrational war that has brought general condemnation upon Serbia." He is doing this, ESPRESSO adds, "as a man of culture, who seeks the remote and recent causes of today's events, and then tries to explain them to someone who perhaps cannot understand them."

[ESPRESSO] Mr. President, I am addressing the writer more than the politician. How do you explain this war?

[Cosic] I have written two books, recently published, which deal precisely with the subject of the "Serbian question"—*The Question of Democracy and Changes*. In those books, I tried to offer explanations for what is happening and what has already happened in the past: events that Western Europe is politically and ideologically refusing to understand, insisting on the fact that the cause of this war lies in Serbian nationalism and, consequently, the hegemonistic aspiration for a "Greater Serbia." Precisely the opposite phenomenon is involved, however: a democratization.

[ESPRESSO] Do you mean that when Europe gives a definition of the "disruption" or "disintegration" of Yugoslavia, you call it democratization?

[Cosic] Precisely. That process has been under way for a decade already, since the death of Marshal Tito, and was inevitable, both here and elsewhere in East Europe. I foresaw it 20 years ago, and my books demonstrate it.

The Big Mistakes of the EC and the United States

[ESPRESSO] How could the development of that democratization occur?

[Cosic] I foresaw two possible but opposite courses: the destruction of a country in which separatists moved all the way to war (civil and religious) and genocide, or the Scandinavianization of Yugoslavia, in which an atmosphere of negotiation is created, a spirit of cooperation—not necessarily reconciliation, but not collapse either.

[ESPRESSO] What sort of support have you had in this regard from the EC?

[Cosic] The worst thing of all is that the EC, from the very beginning of the conflict, sided with some people but not others. Europe acted very badly in this regard, conducting a partisan and catastrophic policy. In effect, Europe is the one that pushed us into war.

[ESPRESSO] What is the reason for that EC position, unfavorable to Serbia but favorable to Croatia, in the present conflict in Bosnia?

[Cosic] I think that this sort of position is a big mistake on the part of the EC and the United States, contrary to logic. But it is also a consequence of the other war within the war, the media one! I genuinely do not understand how one people—the Serbian—can be demonized so

absolutely by spreading so many lies, and even twisting the truth about the facts: It turns out that everything is black and white, without nuances, without any gray.

[ESPRESSO] Dobrica Cosic—intellectual, witness of your times, Yugoslav president—can you explain to us why it was necessary for so much blood to be shed in order for territories to be divided?

[Cosic] One cannot understand Yugoslavia if one is not thoroughly familiar with its history, even before it was officially born in 1918, because the reasons for its birth are simultaneously the reasons for its death. During World War I, in 1914, the Austro-Hungarian Empire sent an expeditionary corps to the Balkans, composed of 60 percent Croats and Muslims (and a few Serbs) against the Serbs in this territory; it was a fratricidal and bloody, positional war that the Serbs won. The consequence of that, the integrationist idea, came to life only among the southern Slavs who won this conflict, i.e., the Serbs, while among the Slovenes and Croats, the losers, it was only accepted among the political classes and the intellectuals, but not among the people, who remained deeply nationalistic.

Insurmountable Antagonism

[ESPRESSO] What is the main characteristic of Croatian nationalism?

[Cosic] The postulate of their nationalism, starting in the middle of the 19th century, is religion. A Croat, before he is a nationalist, is a Catholic; Catholicism in Croatia has the function of a constitutional principle. That is the reason for the Croats' deep hostility toward Serbs, who are guilty of a twofold sin—Orthodoxy, or atheism when they are communists! In contrast to this, the basic principle among the Serbs, as well as all other modern states, is the unity of language, i.e., the nation, in terms of civilization and citizenship. Such great differences in character could not help but generate virtually insurmountable antagonism.

[ESPRESSO] Do you mean that the same difference exists between the Croats and the Serbs as between a religious state (Croatia) and a democratic one (Serbia)?

[Cosic] That is correct! Only the Yugoslav state today is a "state of citizens" by a constitutional definition, while President Tudjman has constitutionally defined Croatia as the "Croats' state."

[ESPRESSO] It appears that the same antagonism exists between the Croatian and Yugoslav presidents that exists between fundamentalism and tolerance?

[Cosic] Yes! And Croatian nationalism is based on a principle that is not praiseworthy: hatred of difference. That ideology was then transferred into the subconscious of the Serbs, intensifying both antagonism and antipathy, up to the point of mutual hatred and a desire for battle. The drama of Serbia and Croatia is precisely the same as the one between Cain and Abel.

Insanity of "Greater Croatia"

[ESPRESSO] Today, however, the Serbs are the ones whom the West is accusing of genocide and hegemonism, driven by a twofold desire to create a "Greater Serbia" and carry out "ethnic cleansing."

[Cosic] I invite everyone who can to demonstrate specifically that just one Serbian or Yugoslav politician ever talked about any such disgrace; I want to remind you that Yugoslavia is the only country that has a ministry for the protection of human rights. In contrast to this, the present Croatian Government is continuing to cherish dreams about the realization of a "Greater Croatia" all the way up to Belgrade, inspired by Ante Pavelic, the well-known head of the notorious Ustase, the Nazis' allies between 1941 and 1945. It is pure insanity, which is not desired just by the present party in power, but is also shared by intellectuals.

[ESPRESSO] This analysis casts a gloomy shadow on the future of Europe. What sort of conclusion, at the level of international politics, do you draw from such a context?

[Cosic] All the most ominous cultural and political elements of the 20th century are now finding fertile ground in Croatia, which today is demonstrating all its destructive power, not only on the local level but also on the international level. It is being supported in this by Germany, Austria, and Hungary, i.e., the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. And also by the Vatican.

[ESPRESSO] Let us assume that all this is true, and leaving aside assessments of the method used to achieve the goal, do you consider the Croatian people's desire for independence to be legitimate?

[Cosic] Naturally! Furthermore, I think that this aspiration of theirs is a democratic energy that bears witness in their favor, a force that gives them the right to self-determination; I cannot help agreeing with it. I am not disputing the goal, but rather the means of achieving it. Unfortunately, this feeling, noble per se, is being exploited and manipulated by other powers for the sake of their own interests.

Reviving Austria-Hungary

[ESPRESSO] According to what you are saying, what is happening is a recreation, by means of this war, of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, staged by Germany!

[Cosic] Precisely! Germany today, at peace and unhindered, against the Serbs again and by exploiting the Croats, is actually getting what it lost in World War II. The most painful thing about this war, however, is the fourfold mistake that Europe is making: It is passively witnessing the development of a third world war, camouflaged and caused by Germany; it is uncritically supporting Germany's historical ally, Croatia; it is demonizing, with that same casualness, Germany's historical enemy, Serbia; it is assuming responsibility for a rebirth of anti-Semitism, making the Serbs into the new Jews, responsible for everything evil in this world.

[ESPRESSO] In connection with oppression, what is the truth about the existence of Serbian concentration camps?

[Cosic] They are camps for captives and prisoners, the kind that exist in all wars. Naturally, I do not deny that atrocities could have been committed. Even more brutal crimes have been committed in the Croatian camps, however, of which there are just as many. The Muslims do not have prisoners; they kill them!

[ESPRESSO] Why are the Serbian camps the only ones seen in TV screens, then?

[Cosic] It is not said that they are Serbian ones! The Croats have employed the well-known American public relations agency Ruder and Finn to take care of their image and propaganda. This group's work consists primarily of making up scenarios and news, and guiding the media.

[ESPRESSO] Do you think that the reason why the Americans recognized Bosnia, headed by an Islamic fundamentalist, as Alija Izetbegovic is—the author, among other things, of the "Islamic Declaration," in which he expresses a desire for a Muslim empire from Bosnia to Indonesia—is the result of media propaganda?

[Cosic] Not just that. They are trying in this way to weaken Europe, which they are afraid of, by encouraging the birth of an Islamic state within it.

Serbia

Early Elections Possible With Amendment

LD1709165792 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1515 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia is soon to be proposed an amendment to the republic's Constitution which would open the way for the calling of early elections in Serbia, TANJUG has learned.

The question was discussed by the Serbian Government behind closed doors on Thursday [17 September]. According to unofficial reports, Serbian Premier Radoman Bozovic informed the heads of the groups of MPs [members of parliament] that the holding of early elections would require certain changes in the republic's Constitution.

Bozovic said the Serbian parliament would hold a session early next week to inform the MPs about the necessity of introducing changes in the republic's Constitution, unofficial reports said.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, made up of Serbia and Montenegro, has already proposed the amendment which is to provide for early elections on the federal level.

Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic said the federal elections would be called in late September and then held by the end of the year.

Kosovo

Delegation Meets Vance, Owen; Presents Demands

AU1709194392 Tirana ATA in English 1801 GMT
17 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 17 (ATA)—The Information Center of the Democratic League of Kosovo informs that on September 16 the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, had talks in Geneva with the delegation of the Republic of Kosovo led by its chairman, Ibrahim Rugova.

The Kosovar delegation forwarded all questions with regard to the Albanian people in Kosovo and stated that the delegation accepted to go to London and now in Geneva voicing its readiness for cooperation in order to find a common language in these talks. It added that the question of Kosovo should be treated first of all in two levels:

1. The current situation.
2. The status of Kosovo in the future.

The delegation of Kosovo requested to devote particular importance to each region of ex-Yugoslavia and that of Kosovo in particular since the situation in Kosovo is more dangerous and explosive. Conflicts may occur as a result of the growing repression, as on the one hand it is the Serb armed Army, police, civilians; on the other it is the suspended Albanian police and local power.

The Kosovo delegation said further on that since May 24, 1992, when the free and fair democratic elections were held in Kosovo, we put up a peaceful resistance by means of the new government and parliament of the Republic of Kosovo and on the basis of the referendum of the last year.

In regard to a stand of the senior officials of Geneva conference based on the attitude of the European Community and the world one, according to which borders cannot be changed, the delegation of Kosovo let those present know that Kosovo has its own borders and once it was a direct part of ex-Yugoslav Federation.

At the end of the talk, the delegation of Kosovo forwarded the following requests:

1. The co-chairmen should interfere to open immediately the University of Pristina and the secondary schools, and the activity of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kosovo should not be hindered. Such a thing should be announced immediately from Geneva.
2. To put an end to the tendency of colonizing Kosovo by means of refugees.

3. The so-called humanitarian operation for Kosovo should start operating.
4. To bring UN troops in Kosovo, to demilitarize it, and not to call up the Albanian youths any longer.
5. To lift the discriminating measures and laws as the so-called emergency measures, to open the hospitals and the Radio and Television of Kosovo in the Albanian language, and the Albanian mass media in general should function.

Special Status Would Lead to 'Mass Migration'

*LD1609215392 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1930 GMT 14 Sep 92*

[Text] Pristina, September 14 (TANJUG)—The introduction of a special status for Kosovo and Metohija, a province in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia which is predominantly populated by ethnic Albanians, would lead to a new mass migration of local Serbs and Montenegrins, provincial official Milos Simovic said on Monday [14 September].

A separatist ethnic-Albanian movement is active in Kosovo and Metohija. It has organized the illegal proclamation of a "Republic of Kosovo" and wants to have Kosovo and Metohija joined to Albania. Ethnic-Albanians, who have the status of a national minority, have no right to their own state under Yugoslav and international norms.

In the 1980-90 period alone, around 60,000 Serbs and Montenegrins left Kosovo and Metohija under pressure from ethnic Albanians.

The problem is not that the rights of ethnic Albanians are violated but that ethnic Albanians do not recognize the state of Serbia, its constitution and laws, and want to create an Albanian state on Serbian land. Simovic, the head of the Pristina district, said in a talk with Czechoslovak and Polish journalists.

Simovic said the problems of ethnic Albanians can be resolved only within systemic institutions.

The foreign journalists were once again informed that the Kosovo and Metohija authorities were ready for a dialogue with the ethnic Albanians. The leaders of ethnic Albanians have so far turned down all the invitations to a dialogue with the authorities.

Macedonia

Premier Accuses Greece of Blocking Oil Deliveries

*LD1709194592 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1749 GMT 17 Sep 92*

[Text] Skopje, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—Prime minister of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Branko Crvenkovski on Thursday [17 September] accused Greece of hampering the delivery of oil to the Skopje refinery from the Salonika port.

Crvenkovski told a news conference in Skopje Macedonia was facing an economic collapse due to Greece's oil blockade. He said the blockade cost Macedonia over 1.4 billion dollars, adding that the blockade was aimed at compelling Macedonia to change its name.

Macedonia is the only of Yugoslavia's four breakaway republics which has not yet obtained international recognition.

Greece, which has a region called Macedonia, maintains that the existence of a neighbouring independent state with the same name would be the hotbed of possible territorial disputes.

State Not Admitted as 'Regular Member' of CSCE

*AU1809081792 Prague CSTK in English 2035 GMT
16 Sep 92*

[Text] Prague Sept 16 (CSTK)—Macedonia was not accepted as a regular member of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) at a meeting of the committee of CSCE senior officials in Prague today because its application did not receive the necessary support, a participant at the meeting told CSTK.

Macedonia left the disintegrating Yugoslavia and constituted itself an independent republic with the adoption on November 17, 1991, of a new constitution. It has been recognized by Bulgaria, Turkey, Russia, Croatia, Slovenia, Lithuania and the Philippines.

Macedonia's independence and separation from Yugoslavia unleashed a storm of indignation in neighboring Greece, which also protested against the name of the newly established republic. Greece argued that because the original Macedonia formed by Alexander the Great is not identical with the territory of modern Macedonia, the new republic has no right to use the name.